

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Lebanon, Syria bombed Israel terrorizes Arab villages

By TONY THOMAS

SEPT. 13—Following an international campaign of anti-Palestinian and anti-Arab hysteria after the death of 11 Israeli athletes in Munich, the Israeli regime has launched a series of military attacks on Lebanon and Syria.

On Sept. 7, Israeli troops entered Lebanon and attacked the border town of Yaroun, allegedly searching for Palestinians who had supposedly attacked nearby Israeli settlements. The Palestinian news agency Wafa reported that "Israel was massing troops and tanks along the borders of Lebanon and Syria in an 'unprecedented buildup,'" according to the Sept. 8 *New York Daily News*. Possibly the Yaroun incident may have been an attempted provocation for a planned military operation against Lebanon.

On Sept. 8, Israel launched major air attacks against both Lebanon and Syria. Among the areas in Lebanon hit were the Nahar el Bard refugee camp in northern Lebanon, the village of Rafid in southern Lebanon, and Rashya el Wadi, a village in southeastern Lebanon.

According to John Cooley, writing in the Sept. 11 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Lebanon counted 126 killed, wounded, and missing as of Sept. 10." While the Israelis claimed their principal targets were "terrorist" military bases, almost all of the victims were civilians and most outside of the refugee camps were non-Palestinians.

In the Lebanese village of Rafid, "A new concrete schoolhouse was reduced to rubble," reported Juan de Onis on Sept. 9 in a dispatch to the *New York Times*. The French daily *Le Monde* on Sept. 9 gives a typical example of the Palestinian "fanatical terrorists" killed by the Israeli bombers: "... a mother, her seven children and two cousins of the latter, perished under the rubble of their village."

In Syria, seven villages were hit: Burj Islam and Jebleh in northern Syria near the port of Latakia; Muntar, just north of the Lebanese border; El Hameh, several miles from Damascus; Sahem el Julian and Mzeirib, near the Golan Heights; and Sweida, the site

of the headquarters of the Syrian army.

Cooley puts an eyewitness figure of the casualties in Syria at more than 200 dead, wounded, or missing.

Wafa has put the total deaths in Lebanon and Syria at more than 66. In addition, 18 were killed and 17 were wounded in Jordan following Syrian-Israeli air battles over the Golan Heights on Sept. 9. Three Syrian pilots and possibly several Israelis were also killed in these battles.

Despite Israeli claims to the contrary, none of the areas involved were Palestinian bases for operations directly against Israel. Burj Islam, Jebleh, and Muntar are all in the far north of Syria, separated from Israel by the entire territory of Lebanon. Likewise, Nahar el Bard is in the extreme northern part of Lebanon, nearly 100 miles from Israel.

Palestinian resistance forces have always been banned by the Syrian government from

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NUNS FALLING VICTIM TO COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA? Ten Roman Catholic nuns, trapped in Quang Tri Province just before its fall to the revolutionaries, were given a lengthy guided tour of North Vietnam this summer. Daniel Southerland writes in the Aug. 9 *Christian Science Monitor* that "the nuns apparently saw and heard so much that was admirable that the church authorities here (in Danang) are afraid of letting them talk about it publicly." The nuns have been ordered not to give interviews.

WITH FIRE AND WITH WATER: Recent disclosures that the United States government attempted to create floods in Vietnam by seeding clouds were followed by the revelation that it also tried to start some fire storms.

Japanese in particular may remember the fire bombing of Tokyo in the spring of 1945 when an area of Tokyo twice the size of Manhattan Island and with a population of 4.5 million people was utterly destroyed. General Curtis LeMay, who became famous for his eagerness to bomb the Vietnamese "back into the Stone Age," got his start as commander of the Twentieth Air Force, which carried out the Tokyo raids.

In a summary of those raids reported in the U.S. press on May 31, 1945, LeMay said that "It took only three hours for 15 square miles of the city to become a raging inferno." He estimated "that 1,000,000 or maybe even twice that number of the Emperor's subjects perished."

The July 21 *New York Times* reported that "Although the fire storm project failed, it is understood from reliable sources that military officials suggested that it be tried again if better methods could be devised. They also suggested that forest and other areas of the world be surveyed to determine if fire storms could be employed as a weapon."

JANE FONDA JOINS THE MCGOVERN BANDWAGON: An overflow crowd of close to 2,000 people jammed into the Riverside Church in New York on Sept. 6 for a "Celebration of Resistance," which included actress Jane Fonda as its featured speaker.

Fonda, who showed slides from her recent trip to North Vietnam, called for the continuation of all forms of activity against the war, while stressing the need to work for the election of George McGovern. She announced the formation of the Indochina Peace Campaign, which will sponsor a tour by her and former "new left" leader Tom Hayden in seven states considered crucial for a McGovern victory this fall.

The meeting, which was also addressed by Father Daniel Berrigan, Dave Dellinger, Mitch Snyder of the Prisoners Strike for Peace, and others, was chaired by Norma Becker of the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, the New York affiliate of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

FREE ANDRES FIGUEROA CORDERO! Figueroa Cordero is one of many Puerto Rican nationalists sentenced to savagely long prison terms during the 1950s in reprisal for their struggle for Puerto Rican independence. Currently serving an 80-year sentence in a federal penitentiary, Andres Figueroa Cordero is not expected to live more than two months because of a case of intestinal cancer.

The hatred and vindictiveness directed by the U.S. government against those who challenge it has been shown once again by the fact that it is necessary to launch a campaign of public protest to assure the release of Andres so that he can spend his remaining days with family and friends in Puerto Rico.

Demonstrations for the immediate release of Andres Figueroa Cordero have been mounted by the Frente Unido Pro Defensa Presos Politicos Puertorriquenos, Box 3, Planitium Station, New York, N.Y. 10024.

SPANISH STUDENTS JUST WON'T KEEP QUIET: Two years ago the Spanish dictatorship responded to long-standing unrest on the university campuses by liberalizing the statutes under which the universities operated. However, instead of being placated by the reforms, Spanish students have continued their opposition to the Franco regime.

Henry Giniger reports in a recent *New York Times* article that the Spanish government has reacted to "one of the most disorderly academic years in university history" by suspending its reforms in Madrid. It is expected to take the same action in Barcelona as well.

One aspect of the new rules was seen as a warning to high school students, "some of whom have also begun to show signs of unrest." University rectors, appointed by the government, will be able to deny entry to anyone with "bad conduct."

GAY ACTIVISTS DISCUSS ELECTIONS: About 65 people attended a panel discussion at the New York Upper West Side Militant Forum on Sept. 8 on "Should Gays Support George McGovern and the Democratic Party?"

Speakers on the panel were Liz Jayko of the Socialist Workers Party; Morty Manford, a founder and leader of Gay People at Columbia; and Rich Wandel, the president of the N.Y. Gay Activists Alliance (GAA).

Manford maintained that gay people had no clear choice in the election and said that he was "keeping open on the question of who to support." Instead of discussing the elections, Wandel made a confused red-baiting attack on the SWP. Manford came out for a policy of non-exclusion for the gay movement, which he said should welcome support from all quarters. The bulk of the discussion period was devoted to the issues in the 1972 elections.

'KEEPING THE PEACE': Sheriff Raymond Hamlin is seeking a second term as top cop in Leon County, Fla., an area which includes Tallahassee. His campaign literature boasts of the fact that he mobilized deputies and guardsmen armed with bayonets in order to prevent the Students for a Democratic Society chapter at Florida State University (FSU) from holding a meeting on campus in 1969. An advertisement for Hamlin, run in the *Tallahassee Democrat*, features a picture of him with Jack Lieberman entitled "Hamlin 'Lays Down the Law' to Radical Jack Lieberman." A member of the Young Socialist Alliance, Lieberman was expelled from FSU because of his political activity.



Militant/Laura Miller

Jack Lieberman campaigning among antiwar activists outside Republican convention.

LAND OF SUNSHINE AND OPPORTUNITY: Rhodesian authorities have declared the ancestral homeland of the Tangwena tribe to be a "white" area and are enforcing their order with police and dogs. The Rhodesian government requires that Blacks living on European-owned land be employed by whites. In a similar sweep two years ago, Rhodesian officials destroyed the Tangwena village and crops. This time, 10 members of the tribe have been arrested, along with 100 children. The children, some of them less than five years old, will be "relocated" in institutions.

While the Rhodesian settlers evict the rightful owners of the land, they solicit prospective immigrants "to begin again in a modern country, abundantly blessed where free enterprise flourishes and opportunities abound. . . ."

U.S. TRIES TO INTIMIDATE IRISH ACTIVISTS: Five Irish-born men from the New York area have been held since early this summer without bail in the Tarrant County jail in Fort Worth, Texas. Kenneth Tierney, Thomas Laffey, Matthias Riley, Paschal Morahan, and Daniel Crawford were subpoenaed to testify before a federal grand jury supposedly investigating possible gunrunning to the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

When they refused to testify concerning their political activities and associations, as advised by their lawyers, the five were held without bail. The government often uses grand juries not to investigate actual crimes but as a means of collecting information on political activists and movements for social change.

Attorney Paul O'Dwyer, who is handling the defense, has charged that the government chose the Dallas-Fort Worth area as the site of the grand jury because of its isolation from large concentrations of Irish-Americans. Three Irish-born nurses who picketed the court house in Fort Worth in protest of this attempt by the U.S. government to intimidate people active in support of the Irish struggle for freedom were fired by the Harris Methodist Hospital on June 29.

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas has agreed to review the case of the imprisoned Dallas Five. In the meantime, the New York Irish Anti-Internment Coalition has called a demonstration demanding their freedom for Wednesday, Sept. 20, from 11:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. at the Federal Court House in Foley Square, New York City.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Interest in elections sparks drive for subs

By NANCY COLE

SEPT. 12 — With three days to go before the official opening of the fall subscription drive, 890 subscriptions have been sent into the business office. Top areas so far are the Twin Cities with 105 subscriptions, Portland with 96, the Oakland/Berkeley area with 95, and Lower Manhattan, N. Y., with 85.

Subscriptions to *The Militant* may be easier to sell than ever before because of interest in the elections and because the special introductory offer of 20 weeks for \$1 is, as one subscriber described it, "an offer you can't refuse." A drive for 33,000 new readers in nine and a half weeks is especially ambitious for our supporters, but to two veteran sub sellers, Debby Woodrooffe and Steve Bloom, it seems an entirely realistic goal.

Debby Woodrooffe, who broke all previous records last fall by selling 1,004 subscriptions on the Mid-Atlantic subscription team, says she views herself somewhat as a military strategist.

"I try to get as much information about the situation I'm selling in as possible," she says. "As soon as I get to a school, I sit down with people and talk about what groups exist, what kind of struggles have taken place in the last year, and where the areas are on campus where radicals can be found."

Woodrooffe suggests that if sub sellers first think to themselves what selling a subscription to someone is going to do in the next 20 weeks toward that person's understanding of international politics, it will be easier to approach potential subscribers positively and audaciously.

"I would ask if I could talk to them for a minute," she explains, "and I would look them right in the eyes. You want to make them feel that this is going to be a special thing, and that they should listen to you."

The next step, according to Woodrooffe, is to get *The Militant* into their hands and start talking specifically about an article in the paper. "Just go through and start talking about some of the things in the article that they might not have known at all from the bourgeois press."

What do you do when people give you an unconvincing "no"? Steve Bloom, who earned the nickname "Blitz" as a result of being the top national sub salesman during both the fall '69 and '70 drives, says he

never takes the first "no" for an answer.

"If they say 'no,' you ask them why," he suggests, "and then you explain why their reason isn't legitimate." About those potential subscribers who give money as the reason, Bloom says, "Most people have a dollar or they can come up with a dollar, whether it's through loose change, a checking account, or pooling change from roommates and friends."

"What you have to do is convince them that \$1 for 20 weeks of *The Militant* is far superior to \$1 for a hamburger that lasts only 10 minutes. At five cents a copy, how can they go wrong?"

On many campuses sub sellers run



into student after student who, while they may be interested in radical politics, feels isolated. Bloom suggests that the easiest way to cut across this feeling is just to tell them how many subscriptions have already been sold on that campus and in what period of time. "It makes them realize that they're not the only radical on campus, and they become more receptive to *The Militant*."

No matter what your "technique," both Woodrooffe and Bloom agree that the key is persistence and audacity.

Help *The Militant* make the biggest subscription drive in its history. Take a subscription quota of whatever you think you can sell by Nov. 22.

Thieu regime tightens military stranglehold

By DICK ROBERTS

SEPT. 12 — In a new move to bolster the deeply shaken Saigon regime, President Thieu announced last week that henceforth village and hamlet officials in South Vietnam would be appointed by decree. "... the lines of authority in the country now flow uninterrupted down from President Thieu through the province chiefs he appoints to the village and hamlet officials they name," *New York Times* correspondent Craig Whitney wrote from Saigon Sept. 10.

Last October Thieu staged a "one-man election" to demonstrate his authority in the Saigon government. This was followed by the June "decision" of the Saigon legislature to allow Thieu to rule by fiat. Recently the Saigon regime closed several opposition papers and imposed heavy fines on others. There are reported to be more than 15,000 political prisoners in Thieu's jails.

Times correspondent Whitney states that "Mr. Thieu now cares so little for American opinion that he did not even inform the United States in advance of his decision to decree democracy in the hamlets out of existence, according to the State Department in Washington."

That is dubious to say the least. Ever since the revolutionary offensive opened in March there have been broad hints that Washington favored tightening Saigon's hold on local administrations. Saigon's rule in the provinces has been eroded by the revolutionary advance. Only direct military occupation can hold it together.

On April 24, one month after the offensive was launched, Whitney reported from Saigon, "As a result of the renewed combat, grave and perhaps irredeemable damage has been done to pacification, the collection of military and political programs intended to establish the Saigon Government's legitimacy in rural and outlying areas that have long been under contention."

Two months later, on June 21, Whitney discussed further deterioration of Saigon's position. "Some experienced American advisers say that the only possible 'pacification' of the Vietnamese countryside is military occupation of it," Whitney declared.

A U. S. official quoted in the Sept. 18 issue of *Newsweek* states: "The government forces are being pushed around and outmaneuvered by the guerrillas in the Mekong Delta as they were in 1964. These Communist gains are countrywide, and the Saigon government may be losing the war."

These officials compare the situation today to 1964 — when Washington initially made the secret decision to launch a major ground and air war in Vietnam to shore up the Saigon regime.

What have seven years of slaughter produced? A *Washington Post* staff writer, George Wilson, described Danang, South Vietnam's second biggest city, May 18. "Seven years ago, Danang was a pleasant city whose 164,000 residents could walk under the tall trees along the river and watch the fishing boats come in from the South Sea. Then came the Americans."

"Today, Danang is a city nearly suffocated by its 440,000 residents

and another 200,000 refugees from the new offensive farther north. . . .

"Legless children clutch the visitor with their tiny, dirty fingers and beg for alms; grown men and women press their faces against the front windows of restaurants, then swoop inside for the diners' leavings like fearless crows; . . . the unemployed stand patiently outside the fence of the job center, but there is nothing, and the soldier amputees — either on crutches or in wheelchairs — seem to be everywhere; children — again in GI khaki — root through American garbage dumps."

Over and over again the Saigon regime has turned on the thousands of disabled veterans with machine guns.

Saigon's prisons are closed to reporters. This has Washington's sanction. *Washington Post* reporter Charles Benoit tried to get a story on a prisoner rebellion at Phu Quoc Island, the major jail for political prisoners. "Reporters who tried to visit were refused entrance to the camp and denied permission to meet with the camp's director," said Benoit June 6. "They were told by a senior American adviser to the camp that 'this is a delicate international situation. I recommend that you leave immediately.'"

"The adviser advised against staying overnight in the nearby village and would not grant permission to stay in his compound."

Times reporter Sydney Schanberg attempted to find out about torture in the prisons and interviewed former prisoners (See *The Militant*, Sept. 8). "It is impossible to tell, without Government cooperation, how many thousands have been arrested since the North Vietnamese offensive began," Schanberg stated in the Aug. 13 *Times*.

"The bulk of the arrests have been in the Mekong Delta south of Saigon and in the extreme north. Many students were seized in Hue, some of them reportedly while working in refugee centers."

"It is also impossible to tell how many of those arrested really have Communist connections and how many are simply opposed to the Government of President Thieu. . . ."

Schanberg cited the following account by a woman who was interrogated intensively but not beaten in a police detention center in Saigon and then released:

"When you were being interrogated, you could hear the screams of people being tortured. Sometimes they showed you the torture going on, to try to frighten you into saying what they wanted you to say."

"Two women in my cell were pregnant. One was beaten badly. Another woman was beaten mostly on the knees, which became infected."

"One high school student tried to kill herself by cutting both wrists on the metal water taps in the washroom, but she failed. They had tortured her by putting some kind of thick rubber band around her head to squeeze it. It made her eyes swell out and gave her unbearable headaches."

"One girl was so badly tortured that the police left her in a corridor outside the interrogation room for a day — so that other prisoners would not see her condition."

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N.Y. teachers accept compromise contract

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK, Sept. 11—The final votes were cast today for a new three-year contract by the city's 60,000 teachers as they and more than one million students began the first day of classes.

The contract teachers voted on was announced four days ago, just in time to avoid a strike, after a final round of negotiations between the Board of Education and the United Federation of Teachers. A few hours after UFT President Albert Shanker and board president Joseph Monserrat made the agreement public, the UFT's delegate assembly endorsed the terms of the new settlement.

The contract was hailed as a "Victory for All" in a Sept. 9 *New York Times* headline, but it could just as well be described conversely: neither side won a decisive victory. Both the board and the union compromised.

Shanker said the major gains were monetary. But these gains fell short of the demands Shanker had termed "fully justified" and even "necessary" in the May issue of the *American Federation of Teachers American Teacher*. At that time, with negotiations about to open, the union paper reported the UFT was seeking "a classroom teacher's basic salary schedule, for teachers with bachelor's degrees, to run from \$12,500 to \$25,000." That was the proposed increase from the then current schedule running from \$9,400 to \$13,950.

The new contract brings the basic schedule up to \$9,500 to \$14,850 this year; \$9,600 to \$15,750 in 1973-74; and \$9,700 to \$16,650 in 1974-75. Tailoring its offer to make the average increase conform to the Pay Board's 5.5 percent guideline, the school board agreed to the modest \$2,700 over three years for teachers with seven years experience, but "balanced" it by giving new teachers only a negligible \$300 over three years.

The UFT's demands for smaller class size went by the boards. The preamble in the old contract committed the board to support a number of UFT-backed innovative and experimental educational programs. The new contract drops the preamble. The programs will be negotiated after pending court challenges to some of them.

The settlement also contains a compromise on what Shanker had termed

the "gut" issue in the negotiations—teachers' preparation periods. Shanker referred to this issue as an important block in the bargaining when he told a Sept. 6 meeting of UFT chapter chairmen he favored striking unless the board came across with a satisfactory offer by 9 a.m. Sept. 7.

The agreement, announced 10 hours after the 9 a.m. deadline, contains new, strict definitions of what activity is "legitimate" for teachers during preparation periods. These are periods during the day when a teacher gets a break from classroom teaching.

The board had sought to give school principals authority to assign teachers extra duties during these breaks. The *New York Times* gave its backing to the board in a Sept. 7 editorial, arguing that "any additional costs . . . must at the very least be offset by absolute guarantees of increased productivity. . . ."

"It is therefore imperative for the board to hold fast to its demands for a more constructive use of the so-called preparation and administrative periods."

While the contract did not give the board its whole demand, the more stringent controls on preparation periods fall in line with the employers' principle advocated by the *Times* editors: If teachers get more money, then fewer teachers must do more work. This idea is completely at odds with the interests of labor, particularly at a time when unemployment is high.

Nevertheless, it is a principle that is operative in the New York school system. The new contract preserves the UFT's consent to the process of attrition whereby vacancies are not filled when a teacher resigns or retires. Thousands of New York teaching jobs have already been eliminated by this process. The current settlement merely elaborates the rules for such elimination of jobs.

UFT officials have maintained an attitude of hostility toward the struggles of the Black and Puerto Rican communities to gain control over their schools. One indication of this was Shanker's repeated warnings that problems might arise from participation in the negotiations by local school boards. The 31 local boards created by the city's decentralization plan took part in bargaining for the first time this year.

After it had become clear that this



Schools opened on schedule in New York and Detroit. Detroit teachers made no gains in new contract. Gains in New York were modest.

participation in no way represented real community involvement, Shanker said the sessions "proved that decentralization and collective bargaining are compatible."

The union also indicated its insensitivity to the communities around the schools and to the students by demanding a huge increase in the number of security guards to police the buildings. The union asked for 5,000 guards. The final contract provides for increasing the number of guards from 200 to 450, but it also creates a new category of 1,200 nonprofessional safety personnel whose job will also be policing the schools.

DETROIT—The city's 11,000 teachers and 283,000 students began the first day of classes on schedule here Sept. 6. As they came to school, the teachers voted on a new one-year contract that contained no pay increases over last year's contract. By a margin of 9-1 they approved the new agreement, which also includes a provision that it can be canceled on 60 days notice any time after April 1 if the school system runs out of money.

Teachers' support for a contract in which they made no salary gains was won by using the argument that the city faces a financial crisis. The board of education is facing an \$80-million deficit, and has announced that unless additional taxes are passed in No-

vember, it will only be able to operate the schools for 117 days instead of the 180 days required by state law.

The agreement ratified by teachers Sept. 6 contains a provision in which teachers agree to postpone receiving one week's pay until July if the extra cash will enable the school system to complete a full term.

The leadership of the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) actively backed the idea of letting teachers bear the burden of the city's budgetary crisis. "With the financial picture the way it is," said DFT vice-president John Elliott, "it didn't make much sense to strike."

The 5,000 teachers who attended a DFT membership meeting the evening before school opened appeared to have been convinced by the union heads. They cheered Mary Ellen Rordan, president of the union, when she announced the agreement.

Although she admitted that the DFT had "made a great many concessions that will be hard to swallow," she and others justified the contract on the basis that teachers were lucky not to get cuts in their pay and preparation time.

"It is a new era in labor negotiations," Harry Salsinger wrote in the Sept. 6 *Detroit News*, "when union members will cheer for a contract that gives them less than they had before." But it is not a "new era." It is a contradictory situation, and one that teachers won't accept for long.

Phila. teachers strike against cutbacks

By CARL FRANK

PHILADELPHIA—The Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) led the city's 13,500 teachers and some 6,000 secretarial and paraprofessional employees out on strike here Sept. 5. The walkout forced Matthew Constanzo, school superintendent, to shut down all city schools and declare an indefinite extension of summer vacation for the city's 285,000 students.

The issues that underlie the strike are not unique to Philadelphia. With all big-city school systems living on borrowed money, resistance to teachers' demands is stiffening. In this city, the school board faces a \$52-million budgetary deficit that would have forced schools to close in March when funds would have run out if schools had opened on schedule.

With this fiscal crisis as a rationale, the board of education in Philadelphia tried to impose terms on the city's teachers that would mean giving up hard-won gains. The board offered the union a contract with no pay raise and a longer working day. The intransigence that provoked the strike was expressed by School Board Pres-

ident William Ross, who called the union demands "impossible."

The same inflexible attitude was expressed by the board's vice-president, Robert Sebastian, who said when the strike began, "We're locking horns. I don't see how we will be able to reach a quick settlement."

Frank Sullivan, the PFT president, commented on the board's refusal to offer any salary increase at all after 11 months of bargaining: "I'll admit the upward spiral in the economy is a serious problem for the whole country, but we can't be the brakemen."

An issue many teachers view as perhaps even more important than more money is working conditions. They want larger staffs and smaller classes.

At a meeting of 500 PFT school representatives Aug. 31, union negotiator John Ryan charged that the board's intent was to roll back the advances made in working conditions since the PFT won bargaining rights in 1965. He urged the teachers to be ready to stay out on strike through "September, October, and even November if it's necessary."

Constanzo admitted to the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, "Obviously, we're taking away some of the gains they've won."

The majority of students in Philadelphia are Black, and the city's Black community has taken an ambivalent attitude toward the strike. Aside from the demands for more staff and smaller classes, the union has shown little concern for championing issues that would help the teachers forge an alliance with the Black community.

However, some striking teachers are offering help in operating more than 40 volunteer "emergency schools" organized by the Urban League and the Union of Student Governments. Rose Samuels, a spokeswoman for the program, said, "We've had very good cooperation. Many teachers said they would come over after picket-line duty."

But the absence of concerted attention to the students' needs and aspirations by the PFT strike leadership is illustrated in an incident that occurred Sept. 8. About 150 students marched outside the building where

union and board representatives were negotiating.

A smaller group entered the building and demanded the right to have student and community leaders take part in the bargaining. The union joined the board in rejecting this demand.

"A school isn't just union members and board of education members sitting at a table," one of the students from Overbrook High School shouted. By refusing to ally with the students and community, the PFT weakens its own hand.

A student demonstrating outside Washington High School told *The Militant*, "We're not taking sides with either the school board or the teachers. We just want the strike to end."

But if the PFT were to take up and fight for the students' demands that the community be given a voice in determining school affairs, the students and their parents could be mobilized on the side of the union. Such unity would give both sets of demands a strength the board would have difficulty resisting.

Socialist candidates condemn Israeli raids

The following statement was issued Sept. 13 by Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

The U. S. capitalist rulers, along with the Israeli regime and their European allies, have leaped upon the incident of the Munich killings, determined to wring every last advantage out of it. Claiming humanitarian concern over the loss of Israeli lives at Munich, these hypocrites are taking every step they can to try to deal blows to the Arab revolution and to all struggles for national independence and social justice.

Using the Munich killings as a pretext, Israel sent its bombers against Arab villages in Lebanon and Syria in the most extensive and destructive raids since the June 1967 war. The aim of the raids was to terrorize the masses of Palestinian and other Arab civilians—to try to break their will to resist the Zionist take-over of their homeland.

The U. S. government shares responsibility for these acts of mass terrorism by Israel. Statements by Nixon, the State Department, and other U. S. officials gave the green light to Israeli reprisals. For example, U. S. ambassador to the United Nations, George Bush, declared Sept. 5 that "there must be no equivocation, no rationalization" in dealing with the Arab guerrillas.

The *New York Times*, influential voice for a section of the U. S. ruling class, wrote in its editorial Sept. 7, "The basic guilt is that of the Arab nations. . . ." And after the Israeli bombing attacks, the *Times* charac-

terized them as "predictable and understandable," warning only that "prolongation of the retributive attacks" on the same scale would cause Israel to "forfeit much of the widespread sympathy" it received after the Munich incident. (Emphasis added.)

In the UN on Sept. 11 the U. S. delegate vetoed a resolution calling for cessation of military operations in the Middle East, insisting that the U. S. would only support a resolution that justified the Israeli raids as an answer to the Munich killings.

Speaking for a government that has bombed Indochina with three times the tonnage of bombs it used in all of World War II—a government whose president brags of its ability to "finish off North Vietnam in an afternoon"—George Bush stated: "Munich was so horrible, so vicious, so brutal, so detrimental to order in the world and to peace in

the Middle East that we simply must not act here as if it did not exist." To these U. S. war criminals, the death of 11 Israeli athletes is "so horrible, so vicious, so brutal," but the deaths of thousands of Vietnamese and the fate of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians made homeless by the Zionist state of Israel—this mass-scale terrorism and human degradation is justified.

While backing Israeli military action against Arab civilians, Nixon is also laying the groundwork for moving against supporters of the Palestinian resistance movement in this country. On Sept. 8 the government announced the formation of a new agency, supposedly to work with intelligence services of other capitalist countries to deter international terrorism.

This new agency will be made up of representatives of the State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It will almost certainly be used to harass and possibly to deport Arab liberation activists in this country.

Among Democratic and Republican party politicians not a single voice has been raised against the anti-Arab hysteria whipped up by the imperialist powers since the Munich incident. George McGovern did his best to top Nixon in condemning the Palestinian liberation movement. Stating that "the blame lies with two Arab governments—Egypt and Lebanon," McGovern called for the U. S. to "ostracize and punish any country that harbors or offers sanctuary to these international crim-



Linda Jenness



Andrew Pulley Militant/Howard Petrick

inals [Arab guerrillas]."

The Socialist Workers Party candidates—while disagreeing with the terrorist tactics at Munich—are telling the truth about who are the victims and who are the real criminals in the Middle East. The problem with terrorist acts by small groups is that they do not make clear to the people of the world that Israel is the aggressor in the Middle East. In addition, we feel that only struggle by the masses of people can win liberation. Actions by small bands of dedicated individuals, isolated from mass support, are both ineffective and an aid to the ruling classes in their attempt to victimize militants.

We call on all supporters of human rights to speak out against the current anti-Arab campaign, to champion the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and to expose the hypocrisy of the blood-thirsty U. S. rulers.

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...Israeli bombings

Continued from page 1

Israel's attacks on Lebanon and Syria are a continuation of Israel's basic strategies over the past 24 years. Israel was founded and is based upon large-scale terrorism and military force to defend its policies of oppression of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. This policy originated even before the establishment of the state of Israel, when Zionist terrorist groups such as the "Stern Gang" attempted to drive the Palestinians from their homeland through massacres and bombings.

The philosophy of "collective guilt" for individual actions of resistance against oppression—first developed by the German Nazis—has been increasingly applied by the Israelis since

Israeli and U. S. propagandists have ignored these facts in their attempts to develop support for these attacks. In their parlance El Hameh and Nahar el Bard are not refugee camps, with thousands of impoverished inhabitants, but "terrorist training centers" or "terrorist headquarters."

The Munich killings were portrayed as an action supported by the entire resistance movement. To deepen this lie, Israeli and U. S. "intelligence sources" have "leaked" the "facts" that Black September was a "secret arm" of Al Fateh, the main Palestinian resistance organization, whose leader Yasir Arafat is head of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The PLO is an umbrella organization of Palestinian resistance groups that does not include Black September. It issued a statement in Lebanon following the incident dissociating itself from the Black September kidnapping.

These lies and slanders are part of an international campaign consciously developed by the imperialist government in Washington and the Israeli Zionist regime in the wake of the death of 11 Israeli Olympic athletes.

Banner headlines in newspapers around the world have denounced "terrorists," Palestinian "fanatics," the Syrian, Lebanese, and Egyptian governments, and Arabs in general. Memorial services for the Israeli athletes held at the Olympics, in Israel, and around the world have been used to nourish these sentiments.

Richard Nixon, Senator George McGovern, Congresswoman Bella Abzug, New York Mayor John Lindsay, and scores of other U. S. politicians have urged reprisals.

In Israel, this campaign reached a fever pitch. Francis Ofner writes in the Sept. 11 *Christian Science Monitor*, "No previous blow by the guerrillas had led Israel to such widespread clamor for purposeful and energetic action—not even the Lydda airport shootout on May 30 when 26 persons were killed and more than 70 wounded."

An example cited by Ofner of the chauvinistic campaign being whipped up in Israel is an editorial by "the chief editorial writer of the prestigious daily *Haaretz*" that urged these alternatives for the Israelis:

"1. Invade the headquarters of the Arab guerrilla organizations even in Arab capitals and destroy their leaders. . . .

"2. Occupy Lebanon temporarily and comb the country for the leading guerrilla figures sheltering there. . . ."

Haaretz's urgings came after statements by Israeli leaders such as Deputy Premier Yigal Allon, who called the Palestinian resistance a "bestial clique whose sole object is genocide" and said that Arab nations that allowed Palestinian resistance organizations to function would "bear the responsibility for the terrorist actions" and "will bear the consequences."

Israel's military attacks on Lebanon on Sept. 7 and 8 exposed the true purpose of this international campaign: to prepare politically for a campaign of military attacks against the Arab revolution by Israel and further weaken the Palestinians' struggle for self-determination.



Moshe Dayan and Golda Meir

the 1967 war with the Arab states. Whole villages and districts in Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan have been attacked as "retribution" for alleged Palestinian acts of resistance. This policy has also been carried out in the Golan Heights, the West Bank of the Jordan River, and the Gaza Strip—Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967.

The Israeli regime's recent attacks follow closely the form of its attacks on Lebanon in February and in June of this year. There the same tactics were used. Civilian targets were chosen. Areas without Palestinian encampments—and in the case of attacks on Lebanon in June, areas where there was large-scale hostility to Palestinians—were also chosen.

The aim of these attacks was not to militarily defend Israel against Palestinian attacks but to politically isolate the Palestinian resistance from the rest of the Arab masses. This created conditions that made it easier for the Arab capitalist governments, especially in Lebanon, to make attacks on the right of the Palestinian freedom-fighters to organize and operate freely.

From the standpoint of the Arab revolution, Black September's action was in error. As in the 1970 hijacking of airliners to Jordan by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the attack by Japanese terrorists on the Lydda airport in Israel earlier this year, their terrorist action helped set up a political situation that made it easier for the enemies of the Arab peoples to strike.

At the same time, their terrorist tactics excluded the Arab, Palestinian, and Israeli masses and did nothing to strengthen the ability of the people of the Mideast to defend themselves against Israeli aggression. Their action was also an obstacle to those in Israel fighting against the reactionary Zionist regime.

The road forward for the Palestinian resistance movement lies in the complete rejection of terrorist acts by small groups and the adoption of a strategy of mass action against the Israeli Zionist government.

Labor victory

The victory of the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party, in the Aug. 30 elections in British Columbia is the biggest achievement of the party so far and an example for the U.S. labor movement. After winning 38 of 55 seats in the B.C. parliament, the NDP now holds power in three of the four western Canadian provinces. British Columbia is the third largest province, with a population of more than two million.

The federal elections now scheduled in Canada for Oct. 30 provide the NDP with even greater opportunities to press further on a national scale for the interests of Canadian working people.

In this country the trade-union officialdom has a different concept of labor political action from that of the British Columbia workers movement. On Aug. 29, for example, the executive council of the AFL-CIO called for efforts to elect a "pro-labor" Congress in the November elections. By "pro-labor" these top bureaucrats have in mind Democrats and Republicans—not candidates who are controlled by and responsible to a labor party based on the trade unions.

The Democratic and Republican parties do not run workers or trade unionists for Congress. Their candidates are almost all lawyers or businessmen or agents for businessmen whose concern is to preserve the private-profit system. American workers desperately need their own party as an alternative to voting for two parties that have only the interests of the employers at heart.

U.S. workers should compare the program of the British Columbia labor party, the NDP, with the program of the Democrats and Republicans in this country. The B.C. NDP stands for an end to antistrike and compulsory arbitration laws, an end to wage guidelines, equal pay for women, repeal of anti-abortion laws, the establishment of community child-care centers, the right of Canadian Indians to better living conditions, and immediate U.S. withdrawal from Indochina.

U.S. workers need such a party that can fight for their interests. Rather than working to elect so-called pro-labor Democrats or Republicans, trade unionists in this country should work to organize a national congress of the labor movement, with delegates from every union democratically elected by the rank and file, as well as representatives from Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican organizations, antiwar groups, women's groups, and other movements for social change. Such a congress representative of working people could launch a labor party that could fight for labor candidates for the U.S. Congress—a Congress that now represents only the handful of rich bankers and businessmen who rule this country.

Human guinea pigs

More of the truth is coming out about the 40-year federal government experiment in which 431 Black syphilis victims in Alabama were used as guinea pigs without their knowledge. Reports now show that at least 28, and probably more than 100, of the subjects died as a direct result of the experiment. The 431 were denied treatment for syphilis and allowed to die so that doctors could study the effects of the disease.

In addition, it was reported Sept. 12 that doctors heading the study were able to gain the medical information they were looking for—the effects of the disease on nontreated as compared with treated patients—after only four years. And yet they decided to continue denying treatment to the Black men, knowing they would probably die as a result.

This experiment shows how deeply racism permeates this society. In the first place, only poor Black people were selected for the experiment. According to the Sept. 13 *New York Times*, reports written by the doctors in charge "describe clearly the doctors' feelings that the men were so ignorant that they had to be rewarded and punished like children to get them and keep them in the program."

This experiment shows how cheap Black lives are in the eyes of the U.S. government. There has been no uproar in the newspapers over this atrocity—as there was over the deaths of the 11 Israeli athletes in Munich. There have been no condemnations of these murders by Nixon, McGovern, or other Democratic and Republican politicians. The government has brought no charges against the doctors and government officials responsible.

Warren K. Billings

I read this morning about the death of Warren K. Billings, victim of the witch-hunting Palmer Raid era of labor organizing. Billings, along with Thomas Mooney, was framed for the San Francisco Preparedness Day bombing in 1916 and spent 23 years in Folsom prison.

I met Mr. Billings in May of this year at a candlelight vigil protesting the criminal Nixon bombing in Vietnam. He came to the San Mateo City Hall to add his voice and support to that of young militants two and three generations his junior.

Warren Billings, an early victim of capitalist injustice, stood firm to the end on the side of the oppressed.

Allan Grady
Oakland, Calif.

Sickened by war

"To call war the soil of courage and virtue is like calling debauchery the soil of love."—George Santayana.

While we are "saving face" in Vietnam, we are slaughtering millions of innocent people, creating devastation and destruction of the animals. We hear our leaders proclaim us the warriors of peace, the saviors of humanity.

Some of us are sickened, but how long will it be before all of us realize that we are groveling in the gutter of depravity, having scorned the true courage to remain loyal to mankind?

Mary Ann McArdle
Lawrence, Mass.

'Made in Japan'

Asian-Americans for Action, comprised of Japanese and other Asians living in New York City, would like to call to your attention the offensive ILGWU [International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union] poster titled, "Made In Japan."

It says: "Has your job been exported to Japan yet? If not, it soon will be. Unless you buy the products of American workers who buy from you. To protect your job, look for this union label [ILGWU] when you buy women's and children's apparel." This poster is prominently displayed in the subways, cleverly emphasizing that the unemployment problem in this country may be due to the "exporting" of jobs to Japan.

This is an insidious way of provoking American workers to the possibility of their displacement by "cheap coolie labor" overseas. It is an easy way out to place the blame for factory shutdowns and removals on foreigners and foreign countries.

But the real culprits must be pointed out—the American businessmen and corporations, unconcerned about working people here or anywhere, whose interest, inspiration, and priorities are PROFITS! They are the ones who make the contracts with foreign manufacturers, buy their finished products, and promote their wares.

But it goes far beyond that. These "American interests" must be protected—like what happened in Vietnam.

We Asians protest the dishonesty of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and vehemently condemn the blatant racism so publicly displayed for the working class—the subway riders!

Mary Kochiyama
Asian-Americans for Action
New York, N.Y.

To drop-outs

Oppin' out, gettin' back to nature, gettin' out, movin' on, Jack Kerouac, droppin' out—it's all the same. There are as many ways and places as there are alienated people who choose to do so.

But many of those who do choose that reversion to pure life don't consciously realize what's behind their decision. Most do; it's a simple rejection of society as it is. That, in itself, is a healthy reaction to our inhuman apparatus of oppression. These are the people who feel helpless when they try to find a way to fight this system or to work within it. Some don't even bother.

I was of the last category. "Yeah, I know Blacks and Chicanos are oppressed. I know it's the big factories and car manufacturers who are screwing up the environment. I know women are viewed as just so much meat. What can I do about it?" No one could ever answer that for me.

I tried the Democrats, the Peace and Freedom Party, and so on. Zilch! So I dropped out. I found clean air, pure food and water, nice people to be with—everything I needed.

But there was a government there too. A capitalist government. After a while the euphoria wore off and there was the same oppressive machine at work. "Christ, isn't there anywhere I can go to escape?" Then the answer rings out: Not unless you give up your conscience.

So back I came after a year of "Paradise." The next job was to find someone to work with. Actually, some group is more appropriate, for I realized that *no one person* can effect any sort of lasting change.

There was a smorgasbord of radical and reformist groups, but only two groups seemed to know that routing capitalism involved more than picking up a gun or voting in reform-minded capitalists—the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. That's what I found, and I just joined.

So, if you are contemplating dropping out, or have come back, or are dropped out, best regards, I wish you happiness. But for me, I've returned to fight in the place I know best. I hope you join me!

Pete Lesnik
Philadelphia, Pa.

'Gay and proud'

I'm a prisoner in solitary confinement. A prisoner in a nearby cell gave me some back issues of *The Militant* to read. In the Feb. 11 issue I read an article entitled "Gay rights bill killed in New York City."

As I read this article I experienced feelings of anger and rage at the discriminatory and sexist pigs on the New York City Council Committee on General Welfare who voted against the bill. It's these same political hacks and parasites who scream the loudest when they are subjected to any real or fancied discrimination.

Yet when the rights of the gay minority are involved, these self-righteous and hypocritical pseudo-puritans have no compunctions at all in denying gay people their human and legal rights. I become incensed when I encounter injustices like this. I'm gay and proud! And I know what it means to be oppressed and discriminated against.

The prison officials, and even some of the prisoners, go out of their way to harass and ostracize

homosexual prisoners. I have been in prison for the past five years in the hellholes Pennsylvania calls "Correctional Institutions." During that time I have been in solitary confinement on many occasions merely because the prison authorities claimed I was a "disturbing influence" to the other prisoners.

I have been confined in solitary for no reason other than being a homosexual. Even though I have not violated any rules or regulations in the prison, they put me in the hole. I'm locked in a small 6 by 8-foot cell for 22 hours out of every 24 hours and deprived of all rights and privileges that are routinely accorded the other prisoners.

I'm writing this letter mainly to express solidarity with the brothers and sisters of mine in the Gay Activist Alliance, and all other oppressed people who are struggling to be freed from sexist oppression and all forms of tyranny.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

Committed and informative

I have been extremely pleased with the way in which you have balanced, on-the-spot news coverage with the theoretical background that is so necessary for a genuine understanding of our present situation. Too few newspapers have the courage to strive for truly committed journalism. *The Militant* combines this commitment with informative articles and a realistic outlook.

M. A.
Hanover, N. H.

Jenness-Pulley campaign

The Activities Fair held annually at Indiana University is to acquaint new students with groups and projects they can become involved in—and the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and the Young Socialist Alliance were there.

During the three days the fair was held, Aug. 24-26, the YSJP and the YSA had the busiest tables out of the more than 100 groups represented. Nine people signed up to work with the Jenness and Pulley campaign in Indiana. Over \$20 worth of campaign literature was sold.

The YSJP and YSA tables were located across the aisle from the McGovern table. Almost from the opening to the closing of the Activities Fair, McGovern supporters hovered around the YSJP table pleading, "But isn't he a little better than Nixon?" Nevertheless, about 70 McGovern truth kits were sold, mostly to people sporting McGovern buttons.

Steve Beumer
Bloomington, Ind.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.



The Great Society

Harry Ring

A balanced ticket—Reporting on Sargent Shriver's southern tour, the Aug. 24 *New York Times* said the vice-presidential aspirant "sounded more like Robert E. Lee than Abraham Lincoln. . . . He stressed patriotism, strong national security, reform of the welfare system and control of crime. . . . he noted that he had been raised in Maryland with 'an understanding of Southern qualities.'"

Easing the shortage—New Yorkers who are constantly piddling and moaning about Governor Rockefeller's alleged failure to develop an adequate housing program should take note that he is building a one-story Japanese-style house on the family's 3,500-acre estate at an estimated cost of \$650,000.

Facts-of-life dep't.—The administration snorts at the idea that it approved

a \$700-million hike in federal milk price-supports merely because dairy operators kicked in \$300,000 to the president's campaign fund. But Gary Hamman, an official of Mid-America Dairymen, Inc., wrote to a member: "The facts of life are that the economic welfare of dairymen does depend a great deal on political action. If dairymen are to receive their fair share of the governmental financial pie that we all pay for, we must have friends in government."

They freaked out?—According to the National Council of Churches, the nine major Protestant denominations lost 266,750 members last year.

How do you finance it?—The government has issued a new edition of the 1961 pamphlet **Family Food Stockpile for Survival**. To deal with the

problem of a nuclear attack, it recommends: "Every family should build up and keep a two-week supply of regular food in the home at all times or assemble and maintain a special two-week stockpile of survival foods in the fallout shelter or home." We were planning on keeping ours in a safety deposit vault.

The American way of death—A funeral parlor in Laurinburg, N. C., has been holding an embalmed body since 1911. Hewitt McDougald, owner of the emporium, insists there won't be a burial until the bill—including 61 year's storage—is paid. He said the dead man's father had given him some money initially but never returned with the final payment. The corpse became a tourist attraction until the apparently sensitive state board of funeral directors insisted it be removed from public display.



The American Way of Life

Caroline Lund

Lindsay's 'laundry list'

Civil service examinations were supposed to have "cleaned up" the government by eliminating patronage. The theory was that the examinations would impartially select out the most qualified job applicants, making it impossible for office holders to favor their political supporters and build a machine to maintain them in office.

But civil service has not posed any major problems for resourceful Democratic and Republican party politicians, as revealed in an exposé by the *New York Daily News* on the city administration of Mayor John Lindsay.

Lindsay, a Democratic convert from the Republican Party, simply has his friends hired as "provisional" employees for the city—a job category exempted from civil service exams. The number of "provisional" job holders in city government is between 20,000 and 30,000, with a payroll of more than \$275-million.

The *Daily News* printed a copy of a May 1 memorandum from Stuart Sobel, Lindsay's "personnel liaison" in the Housing and Development Administration, to a city personnel director with a list of 16 individuals who were to get jobs, promotions, or pay raises as "provisional" employees. This list—labeled the "laundry list" by Sobel—

was submitted only weeks after Mayor Lindsay had publicly announced that the city had so little money that some 280,000 city employees would have to take two weeks off without pay. He said that schools would have to close for up to 10 days since teachers would be among those laid off for two weeks.

On the "laundry list" was a \$1,300 pay raise for a woman whose "qualifications" were that she had worked for Lindsay in the Florida Democratic presidential primary campaign.

Sobel, author of the "laundry list," jumped from job to job as a "provisional" city worker for five years, until he was making \$14,000 a year as a "methods analyst." And what is a "methods analyst"? According to the city Department of Personnel Specifications, a methods analyst "supervises and conducts administrative and procedural studies and analyses of departmental operations" (!).

When the *Daily News* interviewed Sobel on a weekday afternoon about these irregularities in city employment, his only protest was that the interview was keeping him from a tennis appointment.



By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith

U.S. press lies on Africa

According to a news release from the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC), members of the Washington, D. C. Black community on Sept. 8 protested against the *Washington Evening Star* for an article it ran in its Sept. 5 edition.

The ALSC states that the article depicts a young African student who berates himself and his African culture, as well as African-Americans, upon his arrival here to attend school. The article infers that this young student's attitude is typical of that of most Africans.

An ALSC spokesman stated, "This whole lie is part of a concerted attempt on the part of the European press to foster disunity among African people. As the Pan-Africanist ideology grows and spreads we will see stepped-up attempts such as these by Europeans (whites) and their press to thwart the surging Pan-Africanist actions to unite all Africans in their worldwide struggle to rid themselves of European domination and oppression."

The managing editor of the *Star*, as a result of the protest, agreed to give equal space to a counter story.

A similar action by the ALSC occurred on Aug. 10 against the *Wall Street Journal*, according to the Sept. 2 *African World*. This protest objected to an article that the *Journal* ran on Aug. 7 entitled "Portuguese Are Build-

ing Big Dam in Mozambique, But Black Nationalists Call It a Colonialist Ploy."

The article falsely claimed that the liberation forces have been unsuccessful in slowing down construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam in Mozambique. The Cabora Bassa Dam project, backed by a host of imperialist corporations, is creating sharp headaches for Portugal because of the determination of the liberation forces not to allow the project to be completed.

A special article in the Sept. 2 *African World* documents California's involvement with corporations that invest and conduct business in Southern Africa. This information was uncovered through a report of the California State Legislature's Assembly Office of Research.

The report reveals that out of the state's total investment of \$5-billion, more than \$1-billion is invested in firms that operate in Southern Africa. It obtains goods and services from more than 200 such firms. The University of California alone has more than \$300-million tied up in firms that operate in Southern Africa. Moreover, profits from the University of California's investments from some of these corporations exceeded 18 percent as of July 1, 1971.

National Picket Line

Hoffa left high and dry

The curious part about the unfinished Hoffa trip to Hanoi is how it ever got started in the first place. About this there are conflicting reports. Hoffa says that as ex-president of the Teamsters union and an ex-prisoner, he was invited by the Hanoi trade-union movement and decided to go.

But as everyone knows Hoffa is not at liberty to travel without the permission of his parole officer. He was let out of federal prison last Dec. 23 by Nixon's order, which characteristically had strings and fish-hooks attached.

Hoffa's New York spokesman, William Taub, claims that he (Taub) and a vice-president of the Teamsters, Harold Gibbons, met in San Clemente, Calif., in July with Nixon's adviser Kissinger. He says Kissinger told them it would be all right for Hoffa to go to Hanoi and bring back some war prisoners if he could. This turned out to be a Kissinger ambiguity and led to a misunderstanding on all sides.

This account of how it all got started is only partly confirmed by Nixon's press secretary, Ronald Ziegler. Ziegler says Taub and Gibbons saw Kissinger, who did not approve the trip. Furthermore Taub was told by a Kissinger aide when he subsequently phoned the White House that the trip was off.

Whatever the agreement was, Hoffa did turn up in New York on Sept. 7 with a 30-day leave from his parole officer to travel to Paris and Hanoi and with a U. S. passport validated to travel to North Vietnam. The validation to travel to North

Vietnam was unusual because most private citizens who go there these days do so without obtaining a visa from the U. S. State Department. Those who go with formal State Department permission and approval do so as representatives of the government.

The other unusual part about it is that the State Department would select a federal prison parolee to represent it, even though there are worse criminals than Hoffa working for the U. S. government. The difference is that most of them have not yet been convicted and have not attracted as much public attention as Hoffa.

There is historical precedence for this kind of trip by a private citizen connected with the union movement of this country and willing to serve some devious, ill-defined government scheme. After the U. S.-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, Walter Reuther, who was then president of the United Auto Workers (UAW) headed a government-approved "citizens committee" to ransom the mercenaries who had been captured by the Cubans.

Pat Greathouse, a UAW official, was dispatched to Cuba to arrange a deal for the release of the captives in exchange for tractors. Greathouse had little to offer and no authority to negotiate so the Cubans showed him around the island, explained the accomplishments of the first year of their revolution, and sent him back home to tell the truth to the auto workers.

This Kennedy experiment with government-manipulated "people-to-people diplomacy" embarrassed

Frank Lovell



his administration and was not pursued or repeated.

At exactly 5:30 p.m., Sept. 7, the Nixon administration apparently decided finally that it could not succeed with Hoffa as its agent in the same game that the Kennedy administration had failed so miserably in more than a decade ago with the far more plausible Reuther serving at that time as the "independent" agent. Secretary of State William Rogers voided Hoffa's visa to Hanoi. Hoffa was abruptly jerked back to Detroit.

Back in Detroit, Hoffa said he still hoped to make the trip. However, he knows better than anyone else that in his position he can go only where he is told to go.

As if to drive this fact home and further humiliate Hoffa, Attorney General Richard Kleindienst, who is Nixon's most authoritative voice on criminal matters, has charged that representative Taub tried to make a deal to change the conditions of Hoffa's parole and pave the way for his return to the presidency of the Teamsters union if he succeeded in bringing back the war prisoners from Hanoi. Kleindienst claims the proposition was rejected Aug. 28 by his deputy, Ralph Erickson.

The adventure has collapsed. The Hanoi government has put out the word that it never invited Hoffa and will not welcome him.

This unfortunate experience should serve as a warning to others identified with the union movement that you can't do business with the enemy . . . Washington, that is.

Women In Revolt

Rating women candidates

The September issue of *Ms.* (the fourth issue) is now out. In the preview issue of *Ms.*, Brenda Feigen Fasteau, an organizer of the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) and former leader of NOW, presented an article entitled "Rating the Candidates." She rated, among others, Nixon, McCloskey, Humphrey, Muskie, Lindsay, Jackson, and Chisholm with varying degrees of "machismo factors." Apparently she felt only the procapitalist Democratic and Republican party candidates warranted a rating.

In the September issue, Barbara Marcus, another NWPC activist, has an article entitled "The Year of the Women Candidates." Of the more than 30 women mentioned, all are either Democrats or Republicans. Included are Frances "Sissy" Farentold, the liberal gubernatorial candidate in the Democratic primaries in Texas; Louise Leonard, a conservative Republican from West Virginia, who supports the U. S. government's war against the Vietnamese people; and Louise Day Hicks, the well-known openly racist Democratic representative from Massachusetts.

Marcus states in her introduction: "The big overwhelming fact about the women candidates this year is not their number—astonishing enough—but what they represent. . . ."

Later she writes: "The report included all the women in major party gubernatorial or U. S. Senate races, but space limitations have precluded coverage of . . . minor party candidates."

For those interested in protesting the exclusion of "minor party" candidates, particularly the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, Linda Jenness, I suggest you write a letter to Ms. Magazine Corporation, 370 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 10017.

Check to see if the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) will be discussed in your state legislature this fall. The amendment has been ratified by 20 states so far and defeated in four. Passage by 18 more states is required.

In the state of Washington, the ERA will appear on the ballot as a binding referendum in addition to coming before the legislature. If the majority

of voters support the ERA, it will become law within 60 days of the referendum. Nationally, the ERA will become law two years after it is ratified by 38 states.

Women will be organizing a coordinated Washington State campaign for a "yes" vote on the referendum this fall.

Only under the impact of the growing women's liberation movement was Congress finally forced

Beginning with this issue, the 'Women: The Insurgent Majority' column will be called 'Women in Revolt.' Regular columnist Cindy Jaquith is on vacation.

to deal with and pass the ERA. Although passage of the ERA will be a major victory for women, it will not automatically assure equal rights. Significant changes will only be won through struggles involving large numbers of women to force the government, employers, schools, and other institutions to make the written law a reality.

The Militant Gets Around

Last week we reported that many areas have increased the size of their weekly bundles this fall. Now for some results:

A team of subscription sellers in Los Angeles sold 135 copies of the Sept. 8 *Militant* at the beach, in addition to selling 23 subscriptions. Combined with sales of 40 at a McGovern rally and sales at shopping centers and other locations, they sold out of their bundle of 280. So they've raised it to 500 per week.

One of the first fall "campus blitzes" at Case Western University in Cleveland resulted in more than 150 *Militants* sold. And Brooklyn supporters sold 54 *Militants* at a West Indian festival last week.

Militant sales at recent national gatherings include 133 at the American Federation of Teachers convention in St. Paul, Minn.; 184 at the national convention of Raza Unida parties in El Paso, Texas; and 138 at the Congress of African People in San Diego, Calif.

An article in the Aug. 15 issue of *The Voice of Painters, Tapers, and Paperhangers of Northern California* begins, "A story in the July 7th *Militant* warrants a little attention. It concerns the Philadelphia Bldg Trades and a demonstration that they organized and turned out 35,000 unionists to."

And a reader sent us a clipping from the letters-to-the-editor column of *The Tampa Tribune*. Under the heading "Media Hasn't Covered Burundi Massacre" the letter states: "The Burundi tragedy continues unabated, according to the *New York Times* and *The Militant*, a newsweekly. . . . Why has this massacre not been covered (in *The Tampa Tribune*)?"

Jana Pellusch from Houston reports that *The Militant* has received an excellent response from Dow Chemical strikers and their supporters in Freeport, Texas. "Militant salespeople sold approximately

Nancy Cole



50 copies of the Aug. 4 issue, which covered the strike, to picketers at Dow's main gate. At the suggestion of unionists, 100 more *Militants* were left at two local union halls where more strikers could purchase the paper."

A couple of recent letters reinforce what we've always said about *The Militant* being a unique source of news and analysis. From Detroit, a woman writes, "A friend and I tried *The Militant* for a 10-week trial. It's the kind of news you can't find in the *Detroit News* or the *Free Press*. I'm sending \$3 for a six-month subscription."

And with a subscription, a reader in Assonet, Mass., included the following note: "I recently moved to a small town where *The Militant* is not available anywhere. I have found that none of the local papers are as able to keep me informed of what's happening in the radical movements throughout the country today as *The Militant* has been."

Nationalist assembly fails to chart course for Black independence in '72 elections

By DERRICK MORRISON

SAN DIEGO, Calif. — How to build Black political independence and pave the way for the establishment of a Black party in the 1972 elections was a question left unanswered at the second biennial assembly of the Congress of African People (CAP).

At a news conference on the first official day of the assembly, Sept. 1, Imamu Amiri Baraka, new national chairman of CAP and architect of its Black party strategy, responded evasively to a question on the 1972 elections. He had no words of criticism for Nixon and McGovern and stated that the race between the two "doesn't concern us" because Black people have no control over them!

Black people have no control over either the Democratic or Republican parties too, so why not call for a Black break with both parties to set up a party that Black people would control, a Black party?

Coupled with this lack of a strategy to promote Black political independence in the 1972 elections, the CAP assembly made no attempt to draw a balance sheet on: 1) the National Black Political Convention held last March in Gary, Ind.; and 2) the effort by Black elected officials to be power brokers for Black interests at the July convention of the Democratic Party in Miami Beach, Fla.

The CAP leadership, specifically Baraka, was heavily involved in the convention at Gary. And again, through Baraka, CAP tried to exercise some influence in the Black caucus at the Democratic convention.

The assembly, starting on Aug. 31 and ending Sept. 4, was held at San Diego High School and San Diego City College. The NIA (Swahili word for purpose) Organization, the local CAP affiliate led by Imamu Sukumu, hosted the affair. Not more than 1,000 people attended.

On the first official day of the assembly, a series of workshops were held dealing with the internal organization of CAP. In the workshop on accomplishments, Hayward Henry, a Harvard professor and at that time CAP national chairman, pointed out that CAP had not only been involved in the Gary convention but had been a sponsor and helped build the May 27 African Liberation Day (ALD) demonstrations. CAP held protest actions against the Portuguese-backed invasion of Guinea in November of 1970, and cosponsored a U.S. tour for the noted Pan-Africanist singer Miriam Makeba.

He pointed out CAP had sponsored an annual "Black State Reception" for African ambassadors and dignitaries at the United Nations; visited Tanzania as guests of the government on the occasion of its tenth anniversary of independence; established a Skills Recruitment Program to refer African-Americans to job possibilities in Tanzania; and opened a Non-Government Organization (NGO) office at the UN.

At present CAP has about eight affiliate organizations in as many different cities, with the strongest section in Newark.

When asked why this assembly was considerably smaller than the first and founding assembly of CAP that gathered more than 3,000 Black people in Atlanta in 1970, Henry said that this meeting was about gathering the forces of Pan-Africanism and nationalism.

The people gathered at Atlanta were more diverse, ranging from the late Whitney Young of the Urban League to Baraka and Owusu Sadaukai of Malcolm X Liberation University (MXLU) — an independent Black



Militant/John Hawkins

News conference at Congress of African People assembly. From left to right, Hayward Henry, C.L.R. James, Imamu Baraka, Balozi Zayd Muhammad, Mjenzi Kazana, and Imamu Sukumu.

school in Greensboro, N.C.

The Sept. 1 news conference included members of the CAP executive council and C.L.R. James, the renowned Black historian and writer. James, who returned to the U.S. in 1968 after a 25-year absence, now teaches history at Federal City College in Washington, D.C. He commented on the profound change in consciousness of Black people since the rise of the new nationalist radicalization. He also addressed the assembly that night.

YOBU and elections

The next day, Sept. 2, in speeches to the assembly by Nelson Johnson, chairman of the Youth Organization for Black Unity (YOBU) — formerly the Student Organization for Black Unity — and by Owusu Sadaukai, head of MXLU and chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee, an attempt was made to deal with the question of the Black community and the 1972 elections.

In the course of his talk Johnson cited the need for an independent Black political party. He lashed out at the leadership of the Gary convention for scuttling the radical and nationalist Black Agenda after the convention. The Agenda, the programmatic statement of the convention, should be taken to the people and not to Nixon and McGovern, he said.

In pointing up some of the accomplishments of YOBU, which is based in North Carolina but has branches in other parts of the country, Johnson said that a statewide news service had been developed as well as support work for the African liberation struggles. YOBU was the motivating force behind the May 27 ALD actions.

He also pointed out that for two years YOBU has been consistently publishing a biweekly newspaper, *The African World*. He called for unity in action of the Pan-African nationalists.

Sadaukai began by announcing that the FBI had just arrested Max Stanford, a longtime activist from Philadelphia. Because of his activities the FBI has been harassing and persecuting Stanford for years.

Sadaukai stated that the Black condition was getting worse, requiring a revolution to correct it. He said the struggle is against imperialism and racism and then elaborated on the interlocking nature of the African and Vietnamese revolutions.

He dealt at length with the nature of the struggle in South Africa, attacking those who attribute the condition of Africans there to a lack of jobs or some tragic "misunderstanding," and who view U.S. corporations operating in the country as agents of social change rather than as the foun-

dation piece for the racist, apartheid regime.

He praised the states of Tanzania and Guinea for their support to the liberation struggles.

On the struggle here in the U.S., Sadaukai pointed up ruling-class efforts to co-opt and render impotent the Black nationalist movement and nationalist sentiments among the masses. He assailed Blacks such as Floyd McKissick, former head of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), and Dr. Charles Hurst of Malcolm X Community College in Chicago for supporting Nixon. Then he took to task Coretta King, D.C. Delegate Walter Fauntroy, and Julian Bond for supporting McGovern.

Sadaukai said there was no essential difference between the Democratic and Republican parties, and that even if the presidential candidates were Alabama Governor George Wallace or Representative Shirley Chisholm, the nature of these two parties would remain the same.

Electoral politics must be used to build an "independent Black political party guided by the ideology of Pan-Africanism," he said. In conclusion,



Owusu Sadaukai Militant/B.R. Washington

Sadaukai said the African Liberation Support Committee would build actions to protest the role of the U.S. government and certain corporations in Africa. The committee will also seek to educate Black people about the African situation.

He urged support and aid for political prisoners such as H. Rap Brown, the former chairman of the now-defunct Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) who is in jail in New York.

Although Johnson and Sadaukai were not the only speakers from other

Pan-African nationalist organizations to address the assembly, they were the only speakers to deal with the 1972 elections.

CAP and elections

Where CAP is at politically was indicated on Sept. 2 and Sept. 3 in a subsection of the political workshop that dealt with electoral politics. The political workshop was one of many workshops or *baraza kazi* (Swahili for work councils, *kazi* means work) held those two days on such subjects as education, communications, law and justice, and economics.

In this subsection there was much discussion about registering Black people to vote. When one participant asked whether this meant as independents or as Democrats, the discussion leader said as Democrats, in order to have "input" into that party. The participant then pointed up the Chicano independent party, La Raza Unida Party, as the example Blacks should follow. But the discussion leader held steadfastly to the notion that political influence lies with Black residence in the Democratic Party.

The other workshops were concerned mainly with building Black counter-institutions, such as independent schools, cooperative stores, or other ventures. This was the theme running throughout Baraka's speech Sunday night, Sept. 3.

Introduced to the audience of several hundred as the new chairman of CAP, Baraka stressed the need to adopt and live by a Black value system as the basis for building alternative institutions. He said the various Pan-African nationalist organizations should unite, presumably under the banner of CAP.

He repeatedly emphasized that the ability of the nationalists to deliver "goods and services" by way of alternative institutions would determine the influence of nationalism in the Black community.

For a fleeting moment Baraka referred to the Gary Black convention. Since all of the contradictory forces, tendencies, and personalities at Gary simply reflected the contradictions in the Black community at large, he reasoned, all of those who could not relate to the convention consequently could not relate to the community.

This is a very spurious argument, serving as a veiled attempt to justify work in the Democratic Party because that's how most Black people vote.

Baraka ended by saying that during the next two years CAP hoped to bring into being an "African Nationalist Party."

Continued on page 22

Warren K. Billings: working-class fighter

By DAN ROSENSHINE

Warren K. Billings died on Sept. 4 in Redwood City, Calif., at the age of 79. He was a socialist and a militant working-class fighter who spent 23 years in prison as a result of one of America's most notorious political frame-ups.

In 1916 Billings and Tom Mooney were charged with planting a bomb that killed 10 persons and injured 40 others during a patriotic Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco. After a trial that included perjured testimony by witnesses instructed by the police, they were convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment.

The ruling class of San Francisco selected Mooney and Billings as their targets in an attempt to beat back labor activity in northern California. Billings was then 23 years old and was assisting Mooney in leading a hard-fought street-car strike. He had been a union organizer for three years and had already served more than a year in prison because of his union activities.

The atmosphere in which Mooney and Billings were tried was one of patriotic frenzy caused by U.S. preparations for entry into World War I. A full-scale drive was under way against all radicals, trade-union organizers, and political dissidents.

The scandalous nature of the Mooney-Billings trials brought thousands of workers and radicals around the country to their defense. Even Woodrow Wilson, then president of the U.S., appealed to the governor of California in 1918 to intervene in the case.

But the California authorities held fast in their persecution of Mooney and Billings and continued to resist every attempt to free them for 21 more years. Their case remained a focal point for radicals and civil libertarians who mounted increasingly effective pressure in their behalf throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

Finally, in 1939, Mooney received an outright pardon, and Billings had his sentence commuted and was released. Billings then fought for 22 years to receive a full pardon, which was finally granted in 1961. Mooney died in 1942.

For the rest of his life, Billings remained true to the working-class principles he had adopted in his early years. He was an active trade unionist and a supporter of socialist ideas. And he helped to defend any and all radicals who came under government attack.

For a number of years, Billings represented the watchmakers on the San Francisco Central Labor Council. He was one of the first on that body to urge it to oppose the war in Indochina.

In the early 1940s, Billings supported the Civil Rights Defense Committee (CRDC), which was organized to defend the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders who were railroaded to jail in the 1941 Minneapolis Smith Act trials. He especially lent his efforts to getting trade-union support for the CRDC.

Billings also never forgot the plight of those who were still prisoners. He recounted how he had been forced to secretly learn his watchmakers trade, hiding his tools from the prison guards. And he told the story of the infamous massacre of Folsom State Penitentiary prisoners—a massacre in which Billings himself narrowly escaped being killed.

To the end of his life, he sought out newly radicalizing young people to exchange ideas. He spoke to meetings of any radical organization that would invite him. And for the past several years, Billings participated in a number of antiwar actions (see letter, p. 6).

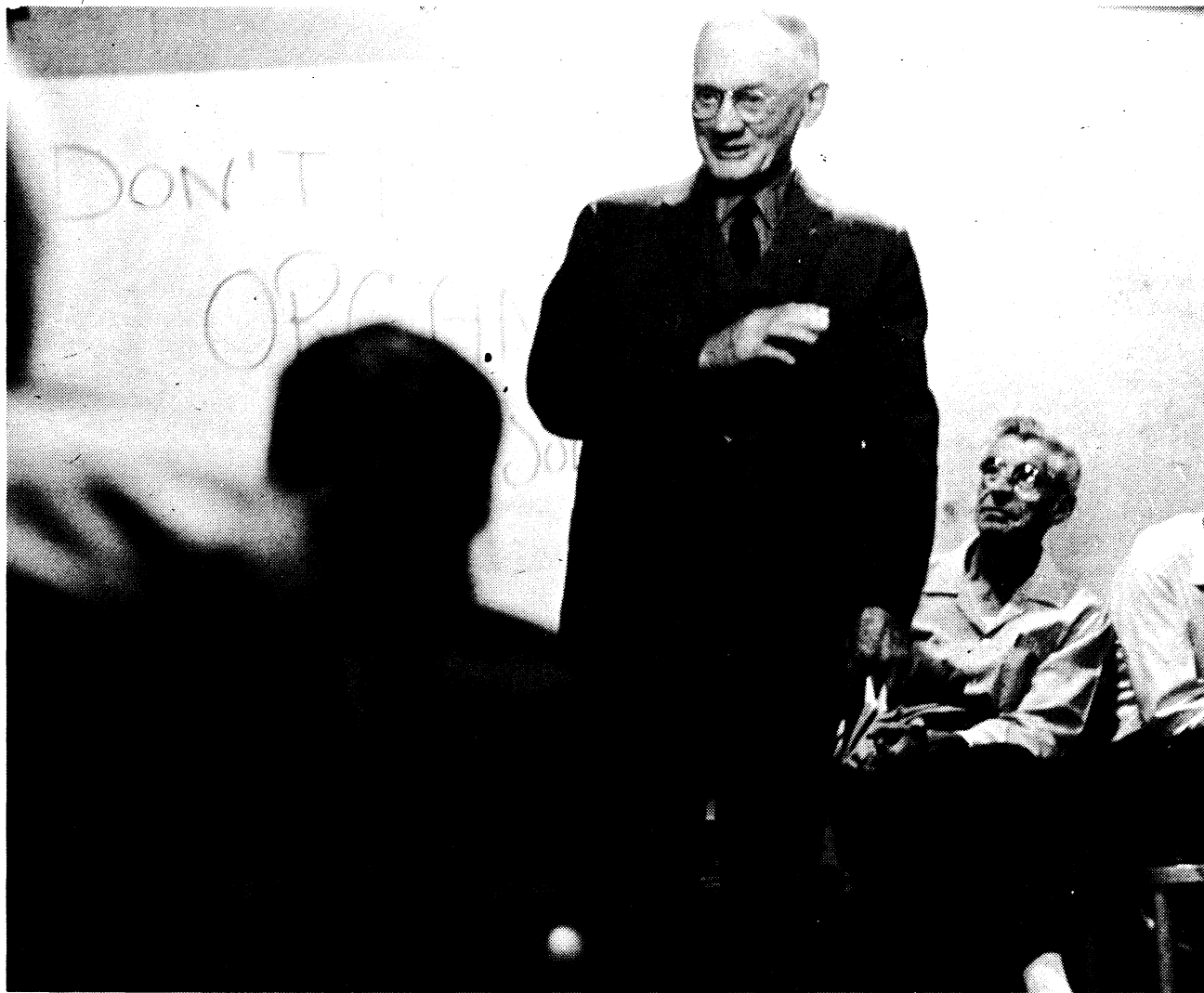
In February 1970 Billings spoke at a San Francisco memorial meeting for Vincent R. Dunne, the veteran Trotskyist leader who had helped lead the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes and later went to jail as one of the Minneapolis 18.

In the same year, Billings traveled to Cleveland to speak at a Socialist Workers Party election campaign rally on May Day where he endorsed the SWP's Ohio campaign.

During the 1960s Billings collaborated with author Curt Gentry in writing *Frame-Up*, which recorded the facts of the Mooney-Billings case.

1928 account by James P. Cannon

A visit with Billings at Folsom prison



Militant/John Gray

Billings speaks at a meeting in his later years. Sign in background reads, "Don't mourn, organize," a quote from Joe Hill, early labor organizer who was condemned to death in Utah.

The following article by James P. Cannon appeared in the June 1928 *Labor Defender*, a publication of the International Labor Defense. In the 1920s the ILD gave the main impetus to the defense of class-war prisoners throughout the United States.

James P. Cannon, then national secretary of the ILD, was one of the founding leaders of the American Communist Party. He later became one of the founders, and central leaders, of the American Trotskyist movement.

"A Visit with Billings at Folsom Prison" is reprinted in *Notebook of an Agitator*, a collection of Cannon's articles available from Pathfinder Press.

By JAMES P. CANNON

To get to Folsom Prison you take the train to Sacramento and then transfer to the stage for Repressa. The journey from San Francisco kills a whole day. They call Folsom "the Rock Pile"—a God-forsaken out-of-the-way place, inconvenient for visitors, and few go there. The day I went to see Warren Billings, I was the only visitor to ride the stage on that desolate journey over the winding road, through beautiful green hills and hollows, that ends in the Folsom rock quarry—California's dread prison for second-term convicts.

I left the stage and walked towards the main gate with a depressing feeling of loneliness. The stone prison rises from the ground like a massive boulder within the gray enclosing walls with their machine gun turrets at the vantage points. The rock quarries deface the lovely hillside like ugly scars. The green sward of the lawn, close-cropped and smooth and well attended like the frontyards of all prisons, was resplendent in the California sunshine.

I was given a seat in the warden's office to wait for Billings—there appeared to be no special visiting room. The warden's secretary went out of his way to make me comfortable. Made a little conversation about the weather. Offered me a copy of the *Saturday Evening Post*, or perhaps it was *Liberty*. I didn't read it.

The warden returned soon. Billings was with him. A rather slight man, somewhat less than medium height. Reddish hair and sandy complexion. A friendly, boyish countenance with lines carved in it which seemed strangely out of place. I had never met him before, but I am sure I know him now. His character is all written in his face and

manner and his ready, engaging smile. A warm personable fellow, without guile or subtlety. The kind that mixes well and makes friends easily.

He is 35 years old now. There are lines in his face that usually come only to later years, but his manner and appearance on the whole are those of a younger man. He was only 23 when he was caught with Tom Mooney in the frame-up trap and he has been in prison the whole intervening 12 years—all his years of flush young manhood and ripening maturity. In many ways he suggested a youth of 23, as though the characteristics which belonged to him at that age, when he was first imprisoned, had frozen in him and become a permanent part of his personality.

He works hard at manual labor and has done more than his bit in the prison quarries, the chief "industry" of Folsom. He is one of 2,200 men imprisoned there under the California system which segregates men who have been convicted more than once—"the two-time losers"—in a separate penitentiary. Billings did a short "jolt" before from the Pacific Gas and Electric strike.

The regime at Folsom is a rigorous one. There is no pampering of convicts serving their second term in California. The inexhaustible quarries, which are the pride of Folsom, not only provide work for their idle hands, but turn a pretty penny of profits also. The Folsom prisoners quarried the rock to build their own jail and the frowning walls around it; and enormous quantities of rock for road building come from there. The paved roads of California, interweaving and running in all directions, are justly famous. The stones of Folsom, hewn out of the prison quarries by the heart-breaking labor of the convicts, pave many a mile over which the autos skim.

It was on the twenty-second day of July, 1916, that a bomb was thrown into a Preparedness Parade, killing a number of people. Five days later Billings was arrested and he has been imprisoned ever since. He had nothing to do with the crime as everybody now knows. But the open-shop interests were out to "get" some labor men, and Tom Mooney and the militants associated with him, who had organized a strike on the street railways of San Francisco two days before, were the group selected. They were arrested, "framed" and railroaded.

If you and I had been compelled to spend our entire adult lives in prison for a crime we didn't commit, that fact would very likely be burning uppermost in our minds all the time. So it is with Warren Billings. But he has not given way to self-centered sourness. He is awake and receptive to the big things transpiring in the world and talks about them. He was in the movement since he was 16 years old and was active all the time even before 1913, when, at the age of 20, he told me, he "became class conscious."

Thereafter class consciousness was the determining factor in all his work and thought, as it still is today.

He told me some details of his case. They tried him with a "professional jury"—that is a jury composed of members who serve on juries all the time and make a living from the fees. They play in with the District Attorney and are selected for their reliability in bringing in convictions.

"They fixed me good and plenty with the jury," Billings told me. "One of my jurymen was an old man named Fraser who had been a professional jurymen continuously for 10 years and during that entire time, found every defendant guilty!"

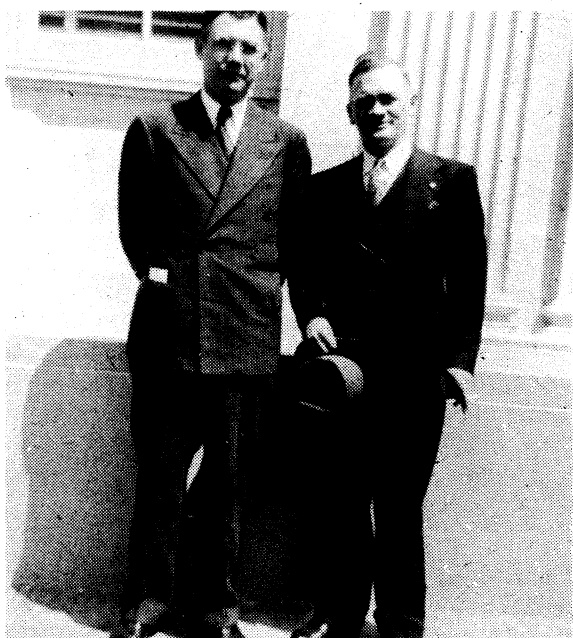
I gasped and started to speak but he checked me with an ironical laugh. "I guess he didn't want to break his record in my case," he said.

It was the testimony of John McDonald, the dope fiend and degenerate, that constituted the principal evidence against him. It is well known that McDonald repudiated his entire testimony five years later. But the horror of the whole business struck me with a special intensity as Billings spoke about the effect of his testimony at the trial—because I, with Robert Minor and others, had heard McDonald in New York in 1921 tell in great detail how the whole thing had been cooked up and how he knew no more about the case than we did.

Warren Billings was born in New York State of New England German stock. He is a shoemaker by trade and joined the Boot and Shoe Workers Union at the age of 16. He was president of Local 220 at San Francisco when he was arrested in 1916. He was an active "union man" while yet a boy in his teens. Association with radicals and militants in San Francisco broadened his outlook and gave him a social vision. That was in 1913; and from that time onward he plunged into the movement, giving all his thought and energy to it.

Those were days of boundless enthusiasm and soaring dreams. He told me about the work he did as "undercover man" for the union. "When the bosses tried to operate their shops during a strike I used to go and get a job there to get information for the union as to the exact state of affairs. I also worked to demoralize the strikebreakers and tried to get them to organize a second strike, and sometimes I succeeded."

Continued on page 22



Billings (r) spoke at 1944 meeting in defense of 18 Minneapolis Smith Act defendants. He is shown here with George Novack (l), then national secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

Int'l abortion tribunal set for March

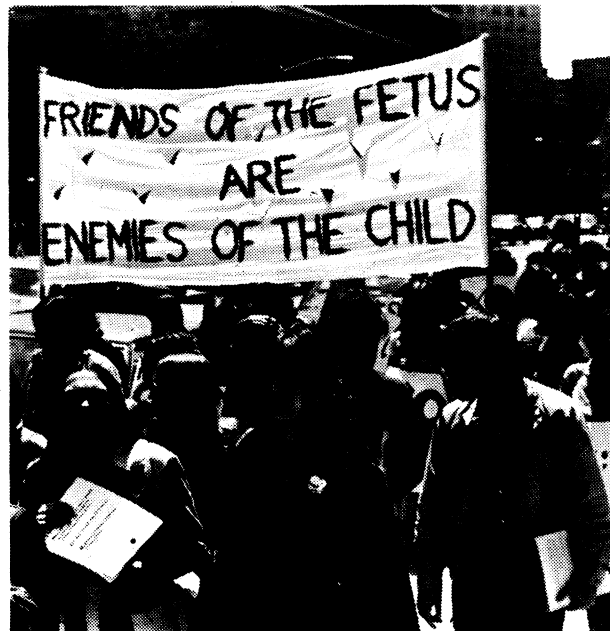
By CAROL LIPMAN

CHICAGO, Sept. 10—A meeting of the National Coordinating Committee (NCC) of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, held here this weekend, reviewed WONAAC's fall perspectives. These included its plans for an international tribunal on abortion, contraception, and forced sterilization. The NCC consists of representatives from any local group supporting WONAAC.

The 70 women attending from more than a dozen states decided to push back the date of the international tribunal from Oct. 21-22—as projected by WONAAC's national conference in July—to March 9-11, the weekend following International Women's Day.

While preparations for the international tribunal are already under way and will continue, the focus of WONAAC's fall activities will be local hearings or tribunals on or around Oct. 21-22.

In addition, the NCC voted to set a goal of 250,000 signatures for the petition drive in support of the Abortion Rights Act of 1972. It also voted to call for a national action in Washington, D. C., when the Supreme Court rehears the challenges to the Texas and Georgia abortion laws this fall.



May 6, New York City

Militant/Lora Eckert

Susan Lamont, a national staff member of WONAAC, explained the reasons for the proposal to move back the date of the international tribunal, as recommended by WONAAC's working committee. "First and foremost," she stated, "in our discussions with activists in the abortion law repeal movement, we have found a fantastic response to the idea of the international tribunal, and we have come to realize that we don't have the necessary time to fully develop the tribunal in the short seven weeks left on the original calendar."

"For example," she said, "the local hearings were originally scheduled to take place only one week before the international tribunal, making it almost impossible to integrate into the international tribunal all the experience, testimony, facts, and resources developed on a statewide basis."

It was also reported that international communication was just beginning, and that women from many more countries would be able to participate in and coordinate activities with the tribunal with the added four months of organizing. In addition, it was noted, many women have indicated support for the tribunal but are spending the next two months working for various candidates in the elections. The new date would enable them to participate to a greater extent.

In the discussion, women from every area present indicated their support for the working committee proposal and their feeling that it meets the needs of the abortion law repeal campaign at this time. Local hearings are already being planned in Boston, New York, Chicago, Detroit, the San Francisco Bay Area, Minneapolis, and Washington, D. C.

Judith Lambert, another national staff member, proposed the goal of collecting 250,000 signatures in support of the Abortion Rights Act of 1972 (ARA). Although no specific date was set for completion of this goal, everyone agreed that all signatures collected by the opening of Congress in 1973 should be submitted to Congress

to help force the bill out of committee and into hearings. Presently the ARA is in the House Judiciary Committee, which is headed by Emanuel Celler.

"Unless the women's movement makes this a public issue and raises some hell," stated Cindy Hilton from Georgia WONAAC, "it will never get out of committee and will continue to be met with ridicule and possibly buried for 40 years as was the case with the Equal Rights Amendment."

The proposal for an action directed at the Supreme Court read in part: "WONAAC should call for and help build a forceful and representative presence in Washington, D. C., of all those who support a woman's right to abortion, to coincide with the date the [Texas and Georgia] cases will be reheard some time in early October. WONAAC should also initiate a press conference to be held the same day on the steps of the Supreme Court, which would attempt to include representatives of the entire women's movement and the abortion law repeal movement."

The NCC also discussed and voted on all the proposals referred to it by the WONAAC conference in July. Among those discussed and passed was a resolution to support the efforts of the Detroit Women's Abortion Coalition and other organizations and individuals working to turn out the largest possible pro-abortion vote in the Michigan abortion referendum this fall. WONAAC will work for a "yes" vote while continuing to educate and organize activities for total repeal of any restrictions on abortion. (If passed, the Michigan referendum would make abortion legal only in the first 20 weeks of pregnancy.)

The NCC passed many resolutions proposed by constituency workshops at the national conference, including the campus, Latina and Raza, Black, gay, and high school women's proposals. Among the resolutions defeated was a proposal that WONAAC become a national abortion referral organization.

The NCC reelected Dr. Barbara Roberts as national coordinator of WONAAC.

Petition filed for vote on abortion

By BARBARA ESKIN

BOSTON, Sept. 7—Representatives of the Abortion Referendum Committee announced today the filing of a petition to allow Massachusetts citizens to vote on whether abortion should be legalized. The referendum question states: "Should the Commonwealth of Massachusetts repeal its abortion laws, thereby making abortion a private matter between a woman and her physician?"

Participating in the well-attended news conference held in the State House were representatives of several organizations supporting the Abortion Referendum Committee (ARC), including the Boston Women's Abortion Action Coalition (BOWAAC), Female Liberation, Framingham-Natick Abortion Action Coalition, Massachusetts Organization for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (MORAL), and the Socialist Workers Party.

To place the non-binding referendum on the ballot, more than 5,000 signatures were collected on petitions in representative districts in 14 Massachusetts cities and towns, including Boston. Lydia Folger, spokeswoman for ARC, explained, "These towns represent a broad spectrum of political views and economic backgrounds. The very fact that we were able to collect so many signatures in such a wide variety of areas testifies to both the importance of, and the growing interest in, the abortion law repeal movement. This referendum is an opportunity for the people of Massachusetts to voice their opinion on this important national issue."

BOWAAC also announced the national petition drive to call upon Congress to enact the Abortion Rights Act of 1972, which would nullify all existing state laws restricting abortion. A representative of the Speakout Project told of plans for a Boston-area tribunal, at which women will testify regarding denial of the right to abortion, denial and inadequacy of contraception services, forced sterilization, denial of the right to voluntary sterilization, and inadequacy and discrimination in prenatal care.

Following the news conference, reporters were invited to accompany the ARC representatives to the office of the secretary of state, where the petitions were filed.



British prisons shaken by revolts

By TONY THOMAS

A wave of prison revolts swept Britain in August and is continuing this month. The Aug. 5 *New York Times* reported that on Aug. 4 "At least 10 percent of Britain's 40,000 prison inmates staged 24-hour sit-down demonstrations today to protest prison conditions."

These actions were called, according to the *Times*, by PROP (Preservation of the Rights of Prisoners), an organization that includes ex-prisoners and supporters as well as inmates. PROP sees itself as a prisoners union. According to Alvin Shuster in the Sept. 5 *Times*, "The group maintains that prisoners are protesting for basic human rights."

Dick Pooley, PROP's national organizer, "who describes himself the champion safecracker who retired undefeated," told Shuster in a telephone interview that "prisoners should have conjugal rights, be paid union rates for their labors and be given more vocational training."

Pooley complained to Shuster about conditions in British prisons, many of which are more than 100 years old. "Many prisons are not fit for dogs," he said. "All these troubles merely reflect how bad the prisons are. I've served 20 years myself and I know. Food is inedible in many places."

Shuster notes a week-long upsurge of prison revolts on the Isle of Wight, 70 miles southwest of London, where several prisons are located.

Prisoners at Albany prison on the island, "protesting against all-day confinement to their cells after the discovery of a mass-escape plot, virtually destroyed the inside of 100 cells, by burning mattresses, blankets and sheets, breaking up furniture, and throwing the debris from the windows," according to Shuster.

At nearby Camp Hill prison, 90 prisoners "climbed to the roofs but came down after a day." At Parkhurst prison, 17 convicts occupied the roof for a week, coming down on Sept. 4.

Peter Stuart, writing from London in the Sept. 2 *Christian Science Monitor*, reported on the situation in British prisons at this time: "Hundreds of inmates are perching atop cellblock roofs, staging sit-ins in workshops, and otherwise protesting prison conditions more or less peacefully." He said the revolts had swept 30 of 60 major British prisons.

Both Shuster and Stuart report a growing right-wing mobilization against the prisoners led by the guards, through their Prison Officers Association, and by the guards' wives. Shuster reports that at Albany prison 100 wives of prison guards demonstrated demanding that the government take a "firmer" hand.

Shuster claims that British Home Office officials in charge of prisons have not resorted to major physical repression for fear that an Attica-style massacre would give the prison movement added political impact and sympathy in the British population.

Peter Stuart closed his article by saying: "More massive protests probably lie ahead. PROP plans a three-day strike in all prisons in mid-September. And officers threaten to retaliate with a work-to-rule slowdown imposing hardships on prisoners and 'chaos in our penal establishments.'"

Attica one year later: state continues victimizations

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK — A year after the Attica prison rebellion, state authorities persist in efforts to prosecute the inmates. Governor Nelson Rockefeller and his cohorts want to paint the inmates as criminals rather than the victims they are.

They do this in spite of the fact that it was the 1,000-man assault force of state troopers and National Guardsmen that murdered 30 inmates, 10 guard-hostages, and wounded more than 300 inmates in the course of crushing the rebellion last Sept. 13. Their assertions run contrary to the reams of studies made before and after the rebellion that document the inhuman conditions prevailing in the state prison system — especially at Attica.

The prosecution, headed by Deputy State Attorney General Robert Fischer, is placing evidence before a special grand jury in the upstate county of Wyoming. The rural whites residing there — from among whom the jury was picked — hardly qualify as peers of the inmates, most of whom are Black and Puerto Rican and come from urban ghettos.

Yet, despite the fact that this grand jury has been meeting since late last year, Fischer appears to be still in need of evidence to bring down indictments. On Sept. 5, according to the Sept. 9 *New York Times*, he subpoenaed the records of 3,000 confidential interviews conducted by the McKay Commission.

The McKay Commission was appointed by a judge last October at the behest of Governor Rockefeller. Its mission was to conduct a "full and

impartial" investigation of the Attica events. The stated assumption on which rested all of its interviews and inquiries with inmates and others was that in no way would the information obtained be used by the Fischer investigation.

The commission televised a summary of its findings in April; a 518-page book based on its findings was published Sept. 13 by Bantam Books.

Flabbergasted, Arthur Liman, the general counsel to the McKay Commission, called Fischer's move "an incredible betrayal." In response, Fischer offered the threadbare argument that the files would only be used to prevent indictment of the innocent. Liman has moved to quash the subpoena in court.

This "betrayal" by Rockefeller of his left hand by his right hand is simply an example of the duplicity he employed to crush the Attica prison rebellion — only a little less deadly.

Nonetheless, the preparation of indictments has been obscured lately by big headlines in the mass media about "prison reform" at Attica. Although Russell Oswald, state commissioner of corrections, boasts that prisoner uniforms are green now rather than gray, that prisoners can now take two showers a week rather than one, and that soap and razor blades are now free, the real changes have been on the side of repression.

"There are gun towers overlooking the prison yards. Remote control tear gas dispensers hang over the seats of the chapel, the mess hall. . . . When they 'run the galleries' — move inmates to and from the mess halls — an officer with a gas gun sits behind a locked

gate at each strategic intersection," writes Donald Singleton in the Sept. 11 *New York Daily News*.

Most inmates still make 35 cents a day or less; the parole system remains harsh; and although inmate liaison committees have been set up at each state prison, the 28-member body elected six months ago at Attica has only six remaining members because of inmate frustration with its powerlessness, reports the Sept. 11 *New York Times*.

About 90 inmates singled out as the leaders of the rebellion were placed in solitary confinement immediately after it was crushed. Fourteen remain there.

The treatment meted out to the Attica inmates stems not only from the repressive nature of prisons but from the significance of the rebellion. The rebellion was the biggest and most massive in U.S. prison history.

The organization, demands, and example of the close to 1,500 inmates who rose up served to spark prison protests, strikes, and rebellions here and abroad. For example, Palestinian prisoners revolted in an Israeli jail, and prison outbreaks occurred across France.

Moreover, as the Attica inmates broke into the mass media Sept. 9-13, 1971, millions of Americans became aware of the abominable life behind the walls and of the fact that prisoners are human beings.

It is this awareness and example that Rockefeller is attempting to snuff out with reprisals and indictments. The Attica inmates must be defended. Remember Attica.

Study reveals figures on Indian prisoners

Of the approximately one million American Indians in the U.S., about 2,370 are presently confined in state and federal prisons. These figures are contained in a June 30 report published by Antioch College's Native American Programs.

The report, entitled "Indians Within Walls," also indicates that Native American groups exist in at least 30 of the institutions where Indians are prisoners. (Reformatories and "training schools" are included in the institutions surveyed.)

The state-by-state breakdown contained in the report shows that the largest number of Indians are con-

fined in state institutions in eight states. In Alaska, California, Minnesota, Montana, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Washington, and Wisconsin, more than 100 Indians are prisoners in state institutions.

In Washington, for example, there are 187 Indian prisoners in state facilities; in Montana, 147; in Wisconsin, 145. The state with the largest number is California, where 262 Indians are in state jails.

Only between 336 and 346 of the total number of Indian prisoners are in federal prisons. One hundred and forty-seven of the total are women.

World Outlook

A weekly international supplement to The Militant based on selections from Intercontinental Press, a newsmagazine reflecting the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1972

Rightists take the offensive

Toward a confrontation in Chile?

By Gerry Foley

Under the fire of imperialist reprisals and capitalist economic pressures, the government of Salvador Allende is facing a serious campaign of sabotage by the local business community as well as attempts to organize reactionary mass campaigns against the regime that could pave the way for a military coup or civil war. In an editorial August 23, the authoritative Paris daily *Le Monde* commented:

"The present situation should worry the ruling left coalition. Right-wing commandos have seized on the general strike of the shopkeepers—who have mobilized in protest against tax agents and police searching determinedly for hoarded goods and professional black marketers—as a pretext for going into the streets.

"The authorities cannot avoid trying to impose this kind of controls, since they are faced with a growing scarcity of foodstuffs. But besides generally proving futile, these controls have shown that the government is increasingly losing its grip on the economy of the country."

With a galloping inflation following on the heels of the major wage increases won by the workers in the upsurge that brought the Unidad Popular to power and impelled the early nationalizations, the cost of living has increased by 33 percent in the past year. In order to limit the erosion of the workers' wages, the regime has tried to impose price controls. The shopkeepers have resisted, backed by the right-wing parties and their sup-

porters in the state bureaucracy.

The shopkeepers' associations seized on the death of a store owner, who died of a heart attack while his store was being searched, to declare a national strike of retailers. In answer to this call, most shops reportedly closed throughout the country on August 21. In retaliation, the government ordered the police to open the shops by force. Right-wing groups took advantage of these incidents to create disturbances.

Violent incidents continued through the night of August 21-22, resulting in 300 arrests and the declaration of a state of emergency in the Chilean capital of Santiago. A dispatch in the August 23 *Le Monde* gave this description of how the fighting started:

"It was toward midnight when groups of young people belonging to the extreme rightist organization Patria y Libertad [Fatherland and Liberty] came onto the streets of the capital, armed with clubs and iron bars, and tried to block traffic. Shortly afterward, groups of women and young girls from the residential areas gathered at corners beating rhythmically on pots and pans to protest against rising prices and the lack of certain consumer goods on the market."

At the same time as the apparently coordinated actions of the women protesters and the rightist goon squads, the Christian Democratic dominated student government of the University of Santiago called a strike over a campus issue.

In the meantime, farm owners, rightists, and police seemed to be stepping

up their violent attacks on workers, peasants, and homeless people who have been pressing their demands by direct action.

"The violence unleashed last Monday [August 21] following a national storekeepers' strike . . . has spread to the provinces, where the opposition has been organizing 'hunger' marches and clashes between peasants and farm owners have taken the lives of three agricultural workers," a UPI dispatch reported in the August 28 issue of *El Diario-La Prensa*, a Spanish-language daily published in New York.

The right was clearly defying the authority of the government. And on August 25, Allende's minister of the interior, Jaime Suárez, threatened to outlaw the Patria y Libertad organization and the Comando Rolando Matos of the Partido Nacional [National party, the main far-right formation] as paramilitary groups. Thus, at the end of August the arena of political and social conflict in Chile seemed to be shifting rapidly from the parliament to the streets.

Unfortunately, the left government's strong words about suppressing ultrarightist provocations and paramilitary activity were contradicted by its actions.

In its August 15 issue, the far left biweekly *Punto Final* asked a pertinent question: "Who Controls the Police?"

"The events in the 'Moncada Attack' camp of homeless people have gravely disturbed the working class, showing dramatically the contradiction that exists when a government proposes to

begin building socialism and at the same time retains the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state. This repressive apparatus moves by its own weight. It was created to intimidate the dispossessed classes. Only a little push is needed, a judicial or administrative order, for its ferocity to be unleashed against the working people.

"In fact, this tendency inherent in the police apparatus operates without regard for the desires of any authorities in the government. This tendency of the police forces aggravates the dangerous deviation affecting the entire process. We are referring to the counterrevolutionary factor of reformism. Those who want to put a bit and bridle on the working class to prevent it from moving forward have made a dogma of the need for repressing what they disparagingly call the 'ultraleft.'"

"Alien to the process of class struggle, the reformists who occupy high positions in the government rage against anything that constitutes a defiance of their policy of imposing their authority over everything and conciliating the bourgeoisie.

"In May, for example, they unleashed a repression in Concepción, killing one student, when the mass organizations of almost the entire left mobilized against the reaction. The pretext was the need to smash the 'ultraleft.' Today in Santiago, fired up by their main preoccupation, their desire to physically combat the revolutionary sectors inside and outside the UP, they have murdered a worker in a fascistlike police raid."

The police raid on the 'Moncada Attack' camp in the district of Lo Hermina in Santiago occurred August 5. *Punto Final* described the events on the basis of accounts by the people living in the area.

"It was 6:00 in the morning when we heard the loudspeakers," Carlos

Continued on page WO/4



Workers demonstrate (l) in support of Popular Unity (UP) government; fascist band (r) prepares for an assault in Santiago.

Canada and New Zealand: Rev

Socialists and the New Democratic Party

[The following are excerpts from an article in the Aug. 21 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a biweekly newspaper reflecting the views of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere. It describes the view of revolutionary socialists in Canada on how socialists should relate to the Canadian labor party, the New Democratic Party.

[The New Democratic Party (NDP) was formed in 1961 and has the support of the major organizations of workers and farmers in Canada. The Waffle caucus, referred to in the article, was constituted in 1969 as a left-wing caucus in the party.

[The revolutionary-socialist movement in Canada has supported the NDP since it was founded, despite witch-hunts against them by right-wing leaders and several waves of expulsions of members of the LSA/LSO in the mid-sixties.

[At the Ontario NDP Provincial Council meeting held in Orillia, Ontario, on June 24, the right-wing NDP leadership voted to proscribe the Waffle caucus from the NDP. In response to this move, some of the Waffle leadership proposed that the Waffle give up fighting the right-wing NDP leaders, dissolve itself, and reconstitute itself outside the NDP as a Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada.

[At a national Waffle conference held Aug. 19-20, after this article was written, a majority of delegates voted for this proposal to leave the NDP, while a minority of delegates decided to remain within the NDP and form a new left-wing caucus.]

By John Steele

What strategy do socialists need to bring about a socialist Canada?

The urgency of this question has been dramatically underscored with moves by the Waffle leadership to split from the NDP and found a new organization—the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada (MISC).

On June 24 the Ontario NDP Provincial Council proscribed the Waffle as a caucus within the NDP. Now the Waffle leadership headed by Jim Laxer and Melville Watkins have declared that continuation of the struggle in the NDP against the Lewis leadership is a waste of time and a diversion from the struggle for a socialist Canada.

Far from projecting a strategy that can bring the working class to power in this country, the Laxer-Watkins MISC proposal is a long step backward from working class politics itself.

The core of the MISC proposal is

that socialists in the aftermath of the Orillia Provincial Council decision must end attempts to organize in the NDP and move out on their own to build an anti-imperialist organization. This organization is not to be a political party but it is to become a mass organization leading workers in a struggle for independence and socialism apart from the NDP.

Revolutionary socialists agree with Laxer and Watkins that the working class is the only social force with the power and strategic weight to bring about fundamental social change. It is also true, as the MISC founders point out, that Canada cannot break out of the orbit of U.S. imperialism without fundamental social change—that is, without going socialist.

A condition for this kind of revolutionary change, however, is the willingness of decisive sectors of Canada's

not a sufficient instrument to enable the working class to mobilize in a struggle for state power with Canada's rulers.

How will such a party be built? Will it be built by ignoring the NDP?

MISC supporters project the development of some undefined Socialist party of the future. But in doing so they have failed to come up with a strategy that takes into account working class organizations as they are today, and particularly the role of their reformist leaderships.

Class organizations

The Canadian working people, in the course of their daily struggle against Canada's big business rulers, have constructed powerful class organizations, the trade unions—their first line of defense against the multi-millionaires. These organizations are now weighed down by a bureaucratic class-collaborationist leadership. Despite this, the general response of class conscious workers who have come to understand the role of their leaders, is not to break with those organizations but to conduct a struggle in those organizations for new policies and leaderships.

The same holds true for the New Democratic Party. Its founding over a decade ago marked an historic leap by Canadian workers onto the political arena. In its short history the internal life of the NDP has been marked by repeated clashes between class conscious workers and the NDP leadership. This points clearly to the

To Canadian workers who are at all politically class conscious—a growing minority—the demand for an NDP government in Ottawa and the provinces is objectively a demand for a government of the workers and farmers, the overwhelming majority of the population. This concept is revolutionary in its implications. This is because the NDP, with its base in the trade unions, is a decisive break from the parties of the ruling class, the Liberals, Socreds and Tories.

But while working people in increasing numbers feel the necessity to support a political party of their own, a class party, they have yet to break with reformist illusions about the capacity of capitalism to adjust itself to their needs. They view the NDP, in varying degrees from enthusiasm to cynicism, as the party which can best represent them in the parliamentary chambers and a party that can institute the most reforms in the system at any given time.

Challenge to reformists

It is on these illusions—this generally low level of political understanding—that the reformist trade union and NDP leadership is based. Insofar as class-conscious workers come to understand the limitations of that leadership, they have challenged its program in struggles which are expressed within the party. The historic struggles that have characterized the NDP and its predecessor, the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, over NATO, public ownership, and



Delegates line up to speak at Ontario NDP Provincial Council meeting that voted to proscribe Waffle caucus.

working people to organize politically as a class, independent of and against the political parties of the ruling class and to engage in mass action in their own interests on every level of struggle, around a class struggle program. For this a mass revolutionary party will be needed in the tradition of the Russian revolution headed by Lenin and Trotsky.

The New Democratic Party is not such a party—nor will it ever be. Fashioned and led by an entrenched leadership committed to the principle of parliamentary reform within the framework of capitalism, the NDP is

strategy socialists need to be effective—a strategy geared to intervening in the struggles as they unfold inside the workers' movement. This cannot be done from the sidelines, from outside.

Any strategy that ignores this central feature of working class politics ignores both the question of class power and the need to struggle for a leadership that can mobilize the workers for a revolutionary fight with the ruling class for state power.

This is precisely what the MISC proposal does in its rejection of the NDP as the focal point of working class politics in Canada.

now the leadership's attempts to suppress the left-wing Waffle—these are all reflections of that tension.

There was nothing new at Orillia on this score. What was new, and evident in the tense months leading to Orillia, was the deep hostility to the attempt of the leadership to suppress anticapitalist ideas and mounting criticism of the leadership, unprecedented in the history of the NDP. The anticapitalist ideas of the Waffle: nationalization of industry, solidarity with Quebec's struggle for self-determination, women's liberation, workers control of industry—reflecting

Revolutionary strategy in labor parties

the beginning of a deep radicalization of Canada's working people.

Orillia was not the beginning or the end. It was a landmark in the developing radicalization of the '60s and '70s—a major experience of the NDP ranks with its bureaucratic and reformist leadership pointing to bigger, sharper and more decisive struggles to come.

MISC is a short-cut recipe for avoid-



Melville Watkins

ing such struggles which will necessarily involve further cuts and bruises, proscriptions and expulsions. These are unavoidable aspects of the struggle to clear the reformists from the leadership of the working class in the hard grind to build a leadership with a class struggle program.

An orientation to the NDP is a transitional approach, a transitional strategy to working class power. It starts from the present level of political understanding— independent working class political action through the NDP—and projects a struggle for a new program and leadership, a program and leadership that is able to build a mass revolutionary party. Cut off from the NDP, and therefore deprived of a strategy for political power, MISC is unable to do this.

A socialist strategy requires building the radicalizing movements developing outside the NDP in the student movement, the anti-Vietnam war movement, the women's liberation movement, defense of the Quebec nationalist movement, the rising militancy against inflation, unemployment and plant shutdowns—and linking them together in the NDP through an organized left wing which can deepen the radicalization in the NDP and propel forward the struggle against the Lewis leadership.

An orientation to the NDP means at this time, rather than throwing in the towel after the first round, leaving Waffle supporters in the NDP to fend for themselves against the powerful leadership apparatus, mapping out a campaign of struggle in the ridings and union locals for a socialist program and internal democracy in preparation for the December Ontario NDP convention.

This is the perspective that the revolutionary socialists, the Trotskyists of the League for Socialist Action, have consistently fought for. □

Socialists fight for Class-struggle policies in N.Z. Labour Party

[The following article is reprinted from the September 1 issue of *Socialist Action*, which is published by supporters of the Socialist Action League (SAL) in New Zealand. It describes a debate between Michael Bassett, a Labour Party candidate in this year's general elections in New Zealand, and Keith Locke, representing a group called Socialists for Labour.

[Socialists for Labour was initiated by members of the Socialist Action League at the national conference of the New Zealand Labour Party held in Wellington May 8-11. Socialists for Labour is campaigning for support to the Labour Party as the political arm of the New Zealand labor movement, but on the basis of a socialist program and opposition to the right-wing leaders of the party who have betrayed the interests of the rank-and-file workers.

[The socialist election effort will relate closely to union struggles and the independent movements in New Zealand against the Indochina war, against the scheduled 1973 South African rugby tour, and for repeal of anti-abortion laws.

[Right after the Labour conference where the Socialists for Labour campaign was launched, the National Executive of the Labour Party began a witch-hunt against the Socialist Action League, voting that "membership of the League is incompatible with membership of the Party."

[The Socialist Action League has responded to this action by organizing support for their right to be members of the Labour Party. Both Labour Party branches and Labour candidates have signed petitions and sent letters of protest to the party, supporting the right of SAL members to be in the Labour Party and to put forward their views within it.]

By Peter Bradley

"Two completely different schools of thinking are represented here," said Labour's candidate for Waitemata, Michael Bassett, in a panel discussion with Keith Locke of the Socialists for Labour campaign at the Auckland Young Socialist Educational Conference August 18.

Bassett said that organising a political party to win an election was quite a separate activity from getting involved in various "pressure groups" and building marches.

Locke had explained that the Socialists for Labour campaign would be bringing the movements of protest into the elections and campaigning around their demands within the context of support for a Labour government. Socialists would demand that Labour candidates take a stand on the key issues around which peo-

ple are moving into action at this time: the Indochina war, abortion, democratic rights for high school students, the government's wage restraint policies, etc.

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Bassett responded that it would not always be wise for the party to openly support some movements because of public "misapprehension" or lack of understanding of the issues. He used this argument to rationalise the absence of Labour Party support for the striking seamen last year. Though he wanted changes in the homosexual and abortion laws, and supported freedoms for high school students, Bassett said he would not campaign on these matters. To get into parliament, he declared, you have to talk about other, more popular, questions—like housing. The main thing, he said, is for Labour to get into office.

Socialists for Labour supporters replied that it was the party's responsibility to use its considerable resources to educate people on key questions like abortion (on which the right wing leaders have refused to take a stand) and transform the abortion law repeal movement into a mass popular force.

In addition, they said, Labour's chances at the polls are not enhanced if the candidates avoid such important, but controversial, issues, and appear to their potential supporters as little different from National [National Party—the ruling Tory party]. □

Continued from first page

Sánchez, the delegate for Block No. 9, explained. 'They said that as an organized camp of homeless people we should go out to defend the government, which was in danger, and that we had to line up outside. And so the compañeros started to leave their houses, and as they were going out the police started shooting.'

"Machine-gun bursts were sharpened by the crack of exploding tear-gas grenades. With flares, the police lit up the streets to invade the homes of the squatters, while they arrested those who had gone out into the road." The police said that they were looking for stolen property and weapons.

The August 15 *Punto Final* carried the following headline on its cover: "Only the Communist Party Approved the Atrocity in Lo Hermina." In an article entitled "Reformism Stymies the UP," the editors explained:

"Reformism needs not only to assure the bourgeoisie an acceptable rate of profit and to hold off the imperialists by giving them concessions. It also needs to hold back the classes

period the firmest political line presented to the masses has come from the conservative opposition led by the Christian Democrats.

"In the period from September 1970 to April 1971, when the UP was moving ahead, taking over industries, banks, ranches, nationalizing copper, nitrates, etc., these social sectors gave their support to the government. The main beneficiary of the elections was the Socialist party. The Radical party, a reliable political barometer, did not hesitate to call itself Marxist. The Christian Democrats suffered a new split, with the formation of the Izquierda Cristiana [Christian Left]. In a nutshell, new contingents coming from the 'middle strata' joined a current that seemed irresistible."

The main result of the government's increasingly conciliatory line, according to *Punto Final*, was that now not only had the "middle classes" moved away from the UP government but "the opposition grouped behind the Christian Democrats has shown important strength among the workers.



Anti-government "March of the Empty Pots" in December 1971

that historically are struggling for socialism, that is, the exploited. Therefore, the reformists have invented the derogatory term of 'ultraleft' for those sectors that are fighting to go forward. . . .

"It has become sufficiently clear after the tragic incident in the 'Moncada Attack' camp that reformism engenders repression, that it is capable, as a result of this, of dragging the government into the most complete isolation and leaving it at the mercy of its enemies.

"On the other hand, the peasants of Lautaro and the workers of Concepción, rising above the sorrow and rage inspired by repression under a people's government, have shown the way forward clearly—revolutionary unity. President Allende's government has legitimate claims for remaining at the head of the masses. But it must see the lesson of its errors in time. It must acknowledge that conciliating the enemies of the workers is leading it to a break with the workers themselves."

The rightist offensive has come at a time when it is clear that the UP government is losing popular support. It has done badly in recent legislative by-elections, and the Christian Democrats and rightists have succeeded even in winning a third of the votes in the elections in the country's largest union, the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores—United Workers' Federation].

In answer to arguments from the CP and other reformists about the need for conciliating the 'middle strata,' *Punto Final* wrote in its June 6 issue: "The so-called 'middle strata,' where the Christian Democrats and its right-wing allies get most of their electoral strength, tend to support the forces that hold the power. In the last

There could not be a graver symptom of the way the reactionary strategy is winning the masses."

In the July 18 issue of *Punto Final*, Pedro Felipe Ramirez, the deputy secretary of the Izquierda Cristiana, argued that the UP leadership's course of trying to reach an agreement on a common program with the Christian Democrats was increasing the strength of the right:

"Thus far the UP has wavered between the masses and the superstructure in seeking the political strength that it needs to carry the process of change forward. Many of the enterprises today in the hands of the workers were won fundamentally by appealing for the support of the masses. The institutional conflicts with the parliament, the courts, and the supervisory agency have tended, however, to lead to confrontations in which the government has not based itself on the masses but has sought a superstructural solution. In general this confuses the masses. They can't understand why the right-wing liberals are friends one day and enemies the next.

"One day they attack the Christian Democrats and the next day they praise them. One day they say that the Chilean courts defend the interests of the ruling class and the next day they condemn the peasants who rebel against a rightist, provocative judge. How can the people know who their friends are and who their enemies are? And if the most conscious sectors of the masses are confused, what can you expect of the peasants, the shantytown dwellers, and the workers who, victims of their alienation, support the Christian Democrats and even the Partido Nacional?"

A sharp demarcation in political lines, thus, seems to be developing in the UP and among its supporters.

Britain

Feminists rally in Nottingham

Nottingham

About 1,000 persons attended a women's rally in the centre of Nottingham July 23. This was the final event of an arts festival that ran for two weeks.

Nottingham, which is a centre for the hosiery and lace industry, has been known traditionally as a woman's town because of the high percentage of women workers here. The Nottingham Women's Liberation Group suggested to the Festival Committee that it should become a women's town in reality. So, under the slogan "The Last Day is Women's Day," a women's rally was organized.

The city square was packed all afternoon with people who had come to look at book stalls, stalls run by the Family Planning Association and the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign, and stalls selling artwork by women.

Even though the all-female platform contained a majority of speakers not representing the women's movement, the mood was one of militant feminism. The crowd cheered women trade unionists, strikers, and a representative of the Black movement in the city.

Sister Maxine of the Black People's Freedom Movement gave a forceful description of the oppression of Black people in white society, and of the determination of Black women to end this.

She talked of the ways in which racism and inequality are perpetuated in Britain, with Black children being pronounced "educationally subnormal" and sent to schools that fitted them for only menial and badly paid jobs.

The rally opened with two high-school students singing women's songs. A section of the crowd—male and middle-aged—thought that by heckling they could disrupt the rally. But the first speaker, May Hobbs, the leader of the Night Cleaner's Campaign in London, proved to be too

much for them. She addressed them as a working woman, told them to save their enmity for their bosses, and reminded them that over and over again it was male workers who had black-legged [scabbed] or backed down in strikes.

The crowd cheered and applauded as she gave the history of the way in which women office cleaners unionized themselves and won better conditions last year.

Nancy Magraith, leader of one of the most exciting industrial struggles of the moment, described how she and other women had taken over their factory in Fakenham rather than accept redundancy. After nearly a year, they were still in business and had expanded production.

The economic and sexual oppression of women in this society were discussed by speakers from the London Socialist Women's Group and the Glasgow group Women in Action.

Jo O'Brien of the Nottingham Women's Liberation Group challenged the idea of Nottingham really being a woman's town when women in local industries do not get equal pay, and when the city authorities provide totally inadequate nursery and contraceptive facilities.

She described how consistently the Nottingham hospitals refuse to help women get abortions and how this leads to large numbers of back-street abortions.

As national convenor of the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign, Rose Knight, also of Nottingham, dwelt on the condition of women in the town. She pointed out that the city authorities spent only £410 last year on helping the 40,000 women who needed contraceptive advice.

Although the majority of the audience were not in the women's movement, their attitude was extremely encouraging by the end of the afternoon. Never before had the calls for feminism and socialism met with such a response in Nottingham. □

In our September 11 issue, *Intercontinental Press* will carry the full text of the oppositionist leaflet which was recently circulated in Moscow.

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McGovern's economic program: dabbling with income-tax reform

By DICK ROBERTS

On Aug. 29 George McGovern went to Wall Street to try to persuade the ruling class that he has their best interests at heart no matter what he says in public.

McGovern's speech did not have much impact. The stock market barely rippled. The prevailing opinion in the financial center of the country is that McGovern doesn't have a chance of beating President Nixon.

Nevertheless McGovern had a message for the assembled stock brokers. It was singled out in an editorial in the *New York Times* the following day: "The overriding McGovern message to the financial community," said the *Times*, "was a reminder that the nation is beset by discord arising out of severe domestic and global problems which must be met by making the economic system both more expansive and fairer. What Mr. McGovern is trying to say is that he, like F. D. R., comes to rescue, not to wreck, American capitalism."

McGovern was even more forceful in his speech. "... what is good for business is essential for the country.

"We cannot permanently exist part in prosperity, part in poverty and with the majority of our people under relentless economic pressures. . . .

"We would do well to heed the warning of a decade ago—if a free society will not help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich."

Saving the ruling class is not a desire that revolutionary socialists have in common with McGovern. But the needs of the overwhelming majority of Americans to be freed from grinding economic burdens is a different matter. How do McGovern's actual proposals stand up on this score?

Tax reform

McGovern's main emphasis is on reforming the tax system. U. S. tax laws are notoriously unfair.

As recently as 1970, "Some 112 Americans with annual incomes of more than \$200,000 . . . paid federal income taxes of zero," *Business Week* stated Aug. 12. It continued, "Taxpayers with incomes of \$20,000 to \$50,000 pay an effective rate of 20% to 30%. But people 20 times that rich, with incomes from \$500,000 to \$1-million, pay the same effective rate—not the 70% IRS maximum for this bracket."

There are dozens of loopholes in the tax laws exempting the wealthy. Corporations also have numerous ways of scaling down their taxes, and the most powerful of all the bastions of monopoly, the oil trusts, pay practically no taxes at all.

In a Senate speech Sept. 6, tax reformer William Proxmire (D-Wis.) declared that "the 18 largest oil companies paid a grand total of 6.7 percent of their net income in Federal income taxes. This is significantly less than they paid in 1970. . . . In terms of actual money paid to the Federal Treasury, this means these 18 oil companies paid \$114,672,000 less in 1971 than they did in 1970." (*Congressional Record*, p. S 14157.)

Since Congress will have to increase taxes in 1973 to help finance the immense government deficits that are expected, some sort of tax reform is certain next year. The representatives of

the people will have to reform the tax laws in order to sweeten their bill raising taxes.

One reason why Wall Street was unimpressed with McGovern's speech, according to *New York Times* reporter Richard Mooney, Sept. 3, is that "They expect tax reforms of the loophole-closing variety, regardless of who wins the election."

So McGovern is promising tax reforms. Typically, he told Ohio workers on Labor Day, "And when you stand at that lathe or at that factory bench, or work in that mine or in that mill or in that home from morning to night, just remember that out of every dollar you earn, part of that goes to sustain a loophole that makes the rich richer, the powerful more powerful, the concentration of wealth all the greater."

It is true. But what McGovern plans to do about it is another question. When it gets down to the specifics

On corporate taxes McGovern's present stance is also decidedly less radical than before. He had already backed off on this question by the time of the Democratic Party convention. *Business Week* summarized the position July 15: "The full impact of the McGovern tax proposals would not be clamped down on a still-recovering economy on the morning after inauguration. They would be phased in over several years, and would not be fully in place until robust full employment has been restored to the economy, in 1975 at the earliest.

"Instead of increasing corporate taxes by about \$17-billion," *Business Week* continued, "McGovern aides now are considering scaled-down and postponed tax reforms that would add only about \$14-billion to corporate tax receipts. . . ."

Under the advice of longtime top government specialists on the economy (like Walter Heller, chairman of

now in the tax laws.

McGovern made it clear that "At the same time, that structure should protect the rights of Americans to leave a fair share of their property to their heirs. . . ."

Nevertheless, taxing capital gains is progressive. Socialists believe that all capital gains should be taxed by the government just as all dividends and profits should be taxed. These are solely derived from the labor of workers and they should be used to benefit society, not the pockets of the wealthy few.

However, we do not believe that taxing capital gains will significantly affect the class structure of capitalist America, and we do not believe that it is a meaningful protection of the wages of workers.

What McGovern does not explain is that the overwhelming wealth of the ruling class, from which it derives its power in society, is not personal income, and it is not at all subject to income-tax laws.

For example, the government income-tax returns for 1969 (the latest for which complete returns are available) showed that there were 1,211 American families whose incomes were more than \$1-million, and their average income was \$2,167,062.00 per year.

It is a lot of money for a very few people—more than 200 times what the Commerce Department says is required for a subsistence income, for less than a ten-thousandth of the population. But the actual wealth of the ruling class is vastly greater than this.

Take the example of the Rockefeller family. In *The Rich and the Super-Rich*, Ferdinand Lundberg calculates that the Rockefellers own about \$4-billion worth of common stock in the three major oil corporations they control (Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard of California, and Mobil). This does not include their holdings in the Chase Manhattan Bank and in a host of other corporations stretching across the globe. But the Rockefellers' income from the common stock in the oil trusts alone would come to \$200-million a year!

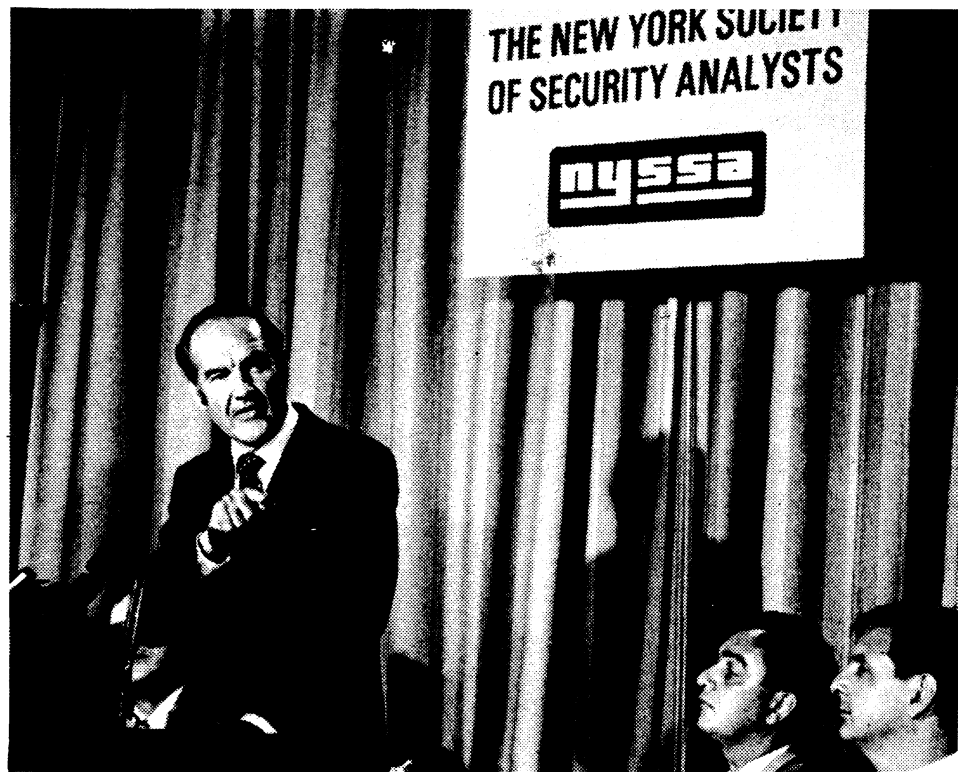
This mainly goes into the holding companies, bank trusts, and other repositories of the capitalists' wealth. And these financial institutions are much more important in maintaining the power of the ruling class than its yearly income, as exorbitant as it is.

Raising capital-gains taxes would touch the ruling class very little, and it is increasingly favored by their specialists as a sop to the public. *New York Times* financial analyst Leonard Silk heralded McGovern's capital-gains tax as a "major new theme." Said Silk, "Possibly that will prove to be the idea whose time has come. It's such an inexpensive and attractive thing to do, with the country in its present frame of mind."

Protecting wages

Gimmicks for protecting the American ruling class are a McGovern specialty. They offer no protection for American workers. Today there are real economic dangers to all workers. But protection from wage controls, inflation, and unemployment

Continued on page 22



"What is good for business is essential for the country," George McGovern told Wall Street audience, Aug. 29.

of McGovern's tax reforms and how these will redistribute the wealth, the going is murky.

McGovern's explicit remarks on economic matters have been so contradictory that *Business Week* magazine headlined a Sept. 2 article on the Wall Street speech, "What the candidate says now."

On Wall Street, McGovern totally abandoned the promise of \$1,000 to every American to solve the problems of those on welfare. The new McGovern line on welfare is not significantly different from the one Nixon proposed three years ago that has been blocked by the Democrat-controlled Congress.

On Sept. 5 *Los Angeles Times* staff writer Vincent Burke went so far as to call the new McGovern welfare program "more cautious" than Nixon's. Nixon's would guarantee a minimum income to all children, including those whose fathers have low-paying jobs. McGovern's program asks for increasing welfare payments, but on the same basis as at present, largely limited to broken families.

President John Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers), McGovern is suggesting a few minor adjustments in corporate taxation. These are viewed as essential "Keynesian" devices for moderating the business cycle and are nothing new. On Aug. 30 *Times* reporter Eileen Shanahan correctly described the corporate tax suggestions in McGovern's Wall Street speech as "classical liberal positions."

Capital gains

But on the question of capital gains McGovern advanced a fairly radical position. "Money made by money should be taxed at the same rate as money made by men," he stated on Wall Street, which is hardly a popular notion there.

The idea would be to treat income from capital gains like annual income from wages and salaries: If stocks are held 30 years and sold—what was their average increase per year? This would be taxed like any other income instead of at the greatly reduced rates

Jenness, Spock, to campaign at Ft. Dix after legal victory

By LARRY SEIGLE

SEPT. 11—In a ruling with broad implications, a federal judge in Rhode Island has ordered the commander of the Quonset Point Naval Air Station to allow Linda Jenness and Dr. Benjamin Spock to campaign on part of the military post.

Spock and Jenness are now planning to try to extend this partial victory with a visit to Fort Dix, N.J., on Saturday, Sept. 23, where they will distribute campaign literature and discuss the elections with GIs there.

Jenness and Spock had requested permission to tour Quonset Point last February. When their request was denied, they brought suit in U.S. District Court in Rhode Island.

On Aug. 10, the court issued an order guaranteeing the candidates' right to campaign in the housing areas of the post, but denying them access to the other parts of the post. The judge justified this distinction on the grounds that the housing area was generally open to the public, while the remainder of the base was not.

"It must be concluded that by allowing the general public onto the access road and housing areas, defendant has established that he has no

meaningful military interests in these areas. . . . As to the housing areas and access road plaintiffs may exercise their First Amendment rights subject to reasonable regulation as to time, place and manner," the decision noted.

The judge based his opinion on the recent Supreme Court ruling overturning the conviction of an antiwar activist from the American Friends Service Committee who was arrested for leafletting on a highway running through Fort Sam Houston in Texas.

In that case, *Flower v. United States*, the Court for the first time ruled that the First Amendment applies to civilian activities on military installations.

The attorney for Spock and Jenness, David Rosenberg, noted that the Quonset Point decision went even further than the *Flower* case because it extended First Amendment protection not just to roads going through a post but to whole sections of the base. Rosenberg is handling the case on behalf of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Rosenberg is petitioning for a re-

hearing of the case to try to reverse the limitations of the decision. One of the additional facts he will introduce is that Spiro Agnew held a news conference on the post in August.

In the meantime, Jenness and Spock, along with their running mates Andrew Pulley and Julius Hobson, announced today that they will conduct a joint campaign tour of Fort Dix Army Base beginning at 10:30 a.m. on Sept. 23. In a letter sent this week, they informed Commanding General Bert David of their plans.

In their letter, the candidates cited the recent court cases in support of their rights. They also reminded the Army that a recent federal court ruling granted all soldiers stationed in New Jersey the right to register and to vote where they are stationed, doing away with the cumbersome and difficult process of voting by absentee ballots.

The news media have been invited to accompany them to the base. If any attempt is made to interfere with their First Amendment right to campaign at Fort Dix, which is an open base, the candidates are prepared to take legal action.

III. SWP fights ballot bar, 'loyalty' oath

By FRED HALSTEAD

CHICAGO, Sept. 11—The Illinois board of elections summarily refused Sept. 7 to place the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in Illinois, but the refusal was challenged today in a federal court here, which has promised a ruling before ballots are printed later this month.

The elections board cited two grounds for refusing to certify the party's ballot status: that the SWP candidates did not sign the anticommunist "loyalty" oath, a relic of the witch-hunt period of Senator Joseph McCarthy, and that the party's presidential candidate Linda Jenness is not old enough.

The Communist Party was also denied certification on the "loyalty" oath grounds as well as on the contention of not having submitted sufficient signatures from more than one county.

The refusal by the board to certify on the "loyalty" oath grounds was not unexpected. But the question of Jenness's age came as something of

a surprise since the only written challenge within the time allotted for challenging was on the basis that the candidates of the party had not signed the oath.

The age question was raised by Secretary of State John Lewis, who took over the job from his friend Paul Powell when the latter died surrounded by a roomful of shoeboxes filled with money and checks believed to be receipts from vehicle license fees that Powell had appropriated for himself.

Lewis said he had heard that the SWP had been challenged in Ohio on the grounds of Jenness's age, and that he intended to raise that the following day, Sept. 7. This he did in spite of the fact that the challenge had not been presented in writing or during the allotted time.

In Illinois, the board of elections is composed of the state chairman of the Democratic Party, the state chairman of the Republican Party, and the top state officeholders. Present at the Sept. 7 meeting were the two party chairmen, Lewis, Attorney General Lewis Scott, and Michael Howlett, who is currently auditor but is also a candidate for secretary of state.

The election code provides that members of the board who are candidates for an office being considered should not vote on questions affecting candidates opposing them. Scott disqualified himself and did not vote. But Howlett insisted on voting to bar the SWP slate, which includes Ed Jurenas as a candidate for secretary of state.

At a Chicago news conference held by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) the next day, the



Militant/Marvin Katter

State Representative Leland Rayson (I), Illinois chairman of CoDEL, and noted Chicago attorney Donald Page-Moore at CoDEL news conference.

noted attorney Donald Page-Moore characterized the elections board actions as "lawless acts by high paid officials" and as "contemptible."

State Representative Leland Rayson, who is the chairman of the Illinois CoDEL, pointed out that the state "loyalty" oath is not expected to stand up in federal court, that it has already been declared unconstitutional in other instances, and that the elections board had the power to ignore it and certify both the CP and the SWP for the ballot.

Persons sending telegrams demanding that the CP and SWP be placed on the ballot included: Richard Criley of the Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI); State Representative Robert Mann; attorney Judith Lonnquist of the National Organization for Women; Dr. Quentin Young, director of the Medical Division of Cook County Hospital; State Representative J. Glenn Sneider; John Kearny of Friendship House and the IVI.

Also, Professor Richard Levins of the University of Chicago; Brenetta Howell Barrett of the League of Black Women; Professor Richard Rubenstein of Roosevelt University; Congressman Abner Mikva; and Aldermen Leon Despres and William Singer.

Statements by Socialist Workers candidates commenting on the board's actions were carried on numerous radio broadcasts.

The federal court hearing today was before a three-judge panel originally scheduled to hear arguments on the "loyalty"-oath issue only. At the request of lawyers for CoDEL and the American Civil Liberties Union, however, the panel also heard arguments on the question of barring the SWP from the ballot because of Linda Jenness's age and on the signature distribution gimmick that was used against the CP.

The court promised a ruling before ballots are printed, which should be within two weeks.

Finch wins ballot fight

By SARA GATES

NEW YORK, Sept. 11—A public pressure campaign has squelched an attempt by Democratic Congressman Edward Koch to have his socialist opponent, Rebecca Finch, ruled off the New York ballot.

Finch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from the 18th C.D., filed more than 6,400 signatures on Aug. 31 to meet New York's 3,500 signature requirement for ballot status.

On Sept. 5 the SWP was notified that objections to the petitions had been filed. The notice was mailed in a "Koch for Congress" envelope, and an investigation revealed that the individual who objected to the petitions is a staff worker in the "Koch for Congress" headquarters.

Finch supporters, assisted by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), began a vigorous campaign to win public support for her right to be on the ballot.

Prominent civil libertarians who responded to the appeal included: Ben-

jamin Spock, People's Party presidential candidate; Nat Hentoff, writer; and Dave McReynolds, War Resisters League. Each telephoned Koch headquarters to register their objections to such a blatantly undemocratic maneuver on the part of a supposedly liberal Democrat.

Spock, whose party has been a plaintiff in two CoDEL suits, spoke to Koch in Washington, D.C., and elicited a promise that the objections would be dropped.

By New York law, evidence supporting the objections to the petitions must be submitted within a six-day period following the original notification. No evidence has been filed, and thus it appears that Finch's name will be listed on the ballot.



Rebecca Finch

Militant/Mark Satinoff

Protesters hit NBC denial of equal time

By CATHY PERKUS

NEW YORK, Sept. 12 — Chanting, "Equal rights, equal time!" and "We demand of NBC—we want Jenness on TV!" some 125 people marched this afternoon outside National Broadcasting Company's headquarters in midtown New York City.

The protest, organized by the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, was held to demand that NBC provide Socialist Workers presidential candidate Linda Jenness with "equal time" on TV and radio. Jenness and SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley led the lively picket line.

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley from Columbia University, Brooklyn College, and New York University turned out for the protest.

NBC has refused Jenness time to answer the 20-minute campaign speech George McGovern made last August announcing Sargent Shriver as his running mate. NBC declared that Jenness is "too young" to run and "too young" even to apply for equal time. The SWP National Campaign Committee expects a ruling on this case from the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) within a week.

When asked by the WNBC-TV reporters covering the picket line if she really isn't too young to run, Jenness

answered that "the U.S. Constitution doesn't agree with NBC. The Twentieth Amendment recognizes the right of young people to run for office, and I haven't heard of any decisions that give NBC's judgment priority over the U.S. Constitution."

"NBC has no right to manipulate the elections. We're here today to demand fair coverage for the Socialist Workers Party and for the other smaller parties," continued Jenness.

"A fair election means fair election coverage" and "The American people

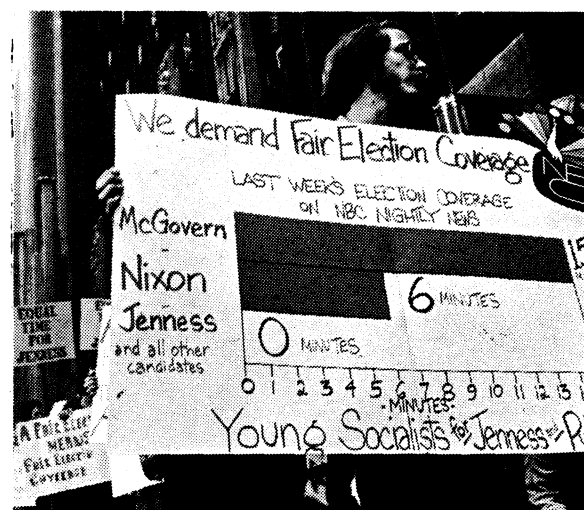
have the right to hear *all* the candidates" were prominent slogans on the picket signs. Pointing out these signs to the reporters, Jenness said that "there aren't going to be fair elections in this country until all points of view are heard and until the monopoly of the Democrats and Republicans is broken."

Concluding her interview with WNBC-TV, Jenness called the network's decision "one more example of the undemocratic nature of the elections in this country. The Democrats

and Republicans use every trick imaginable to keep the American people from hearing different points of view.

"The same bankers and businessmen who run the capitalist parties also control the news stations. They spend tens of millions of dollars to make sure their candidates get on TV and radio, and then refuse socialist candidates even 20 minutes of equal time."

If the FCC's ruling is unfavorable, the SWP Campaign Committee intends to take its case against NBC to court.



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

Dems, GOP, try to block SWP ballot status

By JUDY UHL

NEW YORK, Sept. 11—Now that nearly half a million signatures have been submitted on petitions nominating Socialist Workers Party candidates for ballot status, the representatives of the Democratic and Republican parties are very clearly revealing their partisan interests. Their undemocratic attempts to find ways to keep the socialist presidential ticket off the ballot in a number of states expose the hypocrisy of a system so often touted as guaranteeing free and democratic elections.

● In Tennessee, the SWP has been denied a ballot spot because the attorney general ruled the qualifying method the SWP used was not designed to place presidential electors on the ballot. This ruling came *after* the SWP had filed, and in spite of numerous letters from the secretary of state's office to the SWP advising that the method was acceptable.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has been asked to file suit for both the SWP and the Communist Party, which was also denied a ballot spot.

● In Louisiana, supporters of Jenness and Pulley filed nearly 3,500 signatures to meet the requirement of 1,000 names on petitions. By Louisiana law, the signatures must be

checked by the county clerks before they are submitted to the secretary of state.

Campaign supporters received 850 validated signatures from county clerks and decided to file them in the secretary of state's office without waiting for the rest of the signatures to be returned from the county clerks.

Suddenly, the attorney general ruled that the signatures could not be accepted because there weren't enough. Further, he ruled, no more signatures could be submitted even though the deadline for filing is in mid-September.

All signatures must be submitted together, according to the ruling. Of course, no Louisiana law exists to lend any weight to this arbitrary ruling.

Now the county clerks who were supposedly checking the remaining signatures deny they ever received them. The ACLU, which had already agreed to file suit against Louisiana's loyalty oath for the SWP, has agreed to file suit to win ballot status for the SWP.

● In Washington, D.C., the board of elections notified the SWP that a hearing will be held Sept. 13 to determine the ballot status of the SWP presidential slate. The board has indicated that the SWP failed to obtain

enough valid signatures, in spite of the fact that twice the required 13,010 signatures were submitted. In arriving at its conclusion, the board admits it examined only a tiny fraction of the signatures.

● Delaware Secretary of State Walton Simpson notified the SWP that the "certificate of nomination filed with my office naming candidates for President and Vice President and the Presidential electors is in order." Then he proceeded to rule the slate off the ballot.

Delaware officials ruled that all the candidates of a political party must qualify in order for any candidates to appear on the ballot. Then they ruled that the party nominees for governor and Congress were "underage" by Delaware law, and therefore the entire slate could not appear.

● The SWP has also been refused a ballot spot in Utah for failure to hold county conventions in 10 counties, an obviously undemocratic distribution requirement.

In Illinois, the SWP slate has been denied ballot status for failure to comply with a loyalty-oath requirement. And in Ohio and Illinois, the state officials have ruled that candidate Linda Jenness, at 31, is too young to appear on the ballot. They have ignored the Twentieth Amendment, which guarantees young people the

right to run for president.

In spite of the reactionary attitude of these state officials, the SWP continues to add new states to the list of those in which the socialist presidential slate will appear.

Minnesota, Indiana, and Vermont have officially notified the SWP National Campaign Committee that the candidates will be on the ballot. This brings to 15 the number of states where the SWP is officially certified. Negative rulings in a number of states are being appealed to the courts.

According to reports in the *Daily World*, the Communist Party is now definitely certified in six states. Twelve states have rejected the Hall-Tyner ticket. In Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Arizona, the CP has been rejected because of reactionary laws that specifically prevent the Communist Party from running an election campaign.

The Socialist Labor Party reports that it has won ballot status in 12 states. The People's Party has not made any official announcement of the number of states in which the Spock-Hobson ticket will appear. But media reports indicate that People's Party supporters have won ballot status in approximately 10 states, primarily through affiliation with local groups that have earned permanent ballot status.

SWP in Wash. to nominate slate

SEATTLE—The Washington Socialist Workers Party has announced that Robin David will be proposed as candidate for governor at the party's

Sept. 19 state nominating convention.

Washington State law requires that "minor parties" hold a state nominating convention on primary day, attended by at least 100 delegates who have not voted in the primaries.

David, 28, is a longtime activist in the radical movement. He joined the Young Socialist Alliance at the University of Wisconsin in 1963 and is a past national committee member of the YSA.

One of his first socialist activities was getting the SWP on the ballot in Wisconsin in 1964. Since then, he has directed the party's election campaigns in Wisconsin, California, and Washington.

He has also been active in the anti-

war movement since 1965. He was a founding member of the Student Mobilization Committee in 1966.

Doug Swanson, 25, had been previously announced as SWP candidate for governor but has been forced to drop out of the race for reasons of health. Swanson is a Vietnam veteran who has been a leading antiwar activist in the Seattle area.

Gary Johnson, SWP candidate for superintendent of schools, is a plaintiff in a suit filed by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) that seeks to void a state law requiring candidates to pay a filing fee equal to 1 percent of the salary of the office sought. On Aug. 4, state officials did not accept John-

son's filing papers when he refused to pay the filing fee.

Johnson's suit was turned down at a state superior court hearing. However, a second hearing has been set to hear his appeal. He has announced that he will run as a write-in candidate if not allowed on the ballot.

David, Johnson, and the other Washington SWP candidates will appear at the Sept. 19 state nominating convention, which will be keynoted by SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness. Jenness will speak at an 8 p.m. rally. The convention will run from noon to midnight at the University YMCA, 4525-19 Ave. N.E., Seattle.

\$40,000

20,851

10,425

Jenness-Pulley Campaign Matching Fund

Faster pace necessary for fund goal

Contributions during the first few weeks of the Matching Fund have been well below the average of \$1,000 a week necessary to successfully complete the drive. An additional \$212.25 was received this week which, when matched, brings the total for the drive to \$20,851.48.

Contributions from supporters of the Jenness-Pulley campaign are, and will be crucial to the campaign's ability to carry out many of its most important projects—such as the teams of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley to tour the country this fall.

Overcoming the present lag in contributions to the Matching Fund is of great importance to the continuing growth of the Jenness-Pulley campaign.

Please use the coupon below to mail in your contribution today.

() I can contribute \$_____ to the \$40,000 Matching Fund.
() I can contribute \$_____ in three monthly installments (Sept., Oct., & Nov.).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Traveling teams need money

By SYD STAPLETON, treasurer, SWP 1972 National Campaign Committee
The 1972 Socialist Workers campaign has launched a drive to raise \$40,000 within the next two months. The drive, which concludes on Nov. 7, has been made possible by several campaign supporters who have offered to match all contributions to the campaign up to \$20,000.

A similar Jenness-Pulley Matching Fund was conducted last spring on the basis of an offer by a California campaign supporter to match all contributions to the campaign up to \$10,000.

Well over \$20,000 was raised during the 10 weeks of the spring drive. This money was instrumental in placing six traveling teams of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP) on the road and in helping to finance other major campaign activities.

This fall, close to \$20,000 will be needed to finance the 18 teams of YSJPs that will be building support for the Jenness-Pulley campaign.

The fall Matching Fund was launched with a collection of \$10,007.36 at the Aug. 18 Cleveland campaign rally, and slightly less than \$10,000 remains to be raised to take full advantage of the matching offer. A number of different methods will be used to raise this amount, including direct mail appeals to po-



Militant/Caroline Lund

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley at Democratic Party convention.

tential campaign contrioutors and collections at campaign meetings for Jenness and Pulley. Forty percent of the amount collected at such meetings will go toward the Matching Fund goal (the remainder will stay with the local campaign committees to cover their expenses).

One result of a new tax law on campaign contributions is that it is possible to have the U.S. government pay for part of any person's contributions to the Jenness-Pulley campaign.

Any individual can take a tax deduction of \$25 for a contribution of \$50 or more, or a tax credit of \$12.50 for a donation of \$25 or more. Couples filing joint returns can double these amounts. Thus, by donating \$25 to the Matching Fund, a campaign supporter can make \$50 available to the socialist campaign at a net cost of only \$12.50.

While the \$40,000 Socialist Workers Matching Fund might seem like peanuts to Bernard Barker (of Watergate bugging fame), Maurice Stans (Republican finance chairman), or Warren Beatty (McGovern fund-raiser), it guarantees that Jenness-Pulley campaign supporters can be an important part of the biggest socialist campaign since Debs.

'72 Socialist Campaign

Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley have won their lawsuit seeking an end to Florida's requirement that independent candidates pay the state ten cents for each signature filed on independent nominating petitions. A three-judge federal court found that the fee "fails to pass constitutional muster" and ordered the state to accept the SWP's 51,000 signatures.

But Florida officials are poor losers. James Sebesta, supervisor of elections of Hillsborough County (Tampa-St. Petersburg) complained to the Tampa Times that the court decision is costing taxpayers \$160 a day. Sebesta said he had to "hire eight additional people, at taxpayers' expense, to verify the signatures." He added that there were only nine registered members of the SWP in the county.

A solution: save the taxpayers' money by just putting the SWP on the ballot! Or would that be too democratic?

Voters in the Idaho primary last month were surprised to find the Socialist Workers Party listed on the ballot in addition to the Democrats and Republicans. Because the SWP has qualified for a spot in November, it was given a line on the primary ballot even though it is not running any local candidates, and the line under the party designation was blank.

Some people complained that this was a waste of printing costs. But the Weiser, Idaho, American reminded its readers, "This year wasn't the first time that an Idaho political party ever ran a nobody for public office, but the Republicans and Democrats have never been quite so literal about it."

The Cleveland Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley report selling 167 copies of the pamphlet "Everything you always wanted to know about George McGovern" at a Labor Day rally for McGovern sponsored by the United Auto Workers at Chippewa Lake, Ohio. Seventy-six copies of *The Militant* were also sold.

And at a rally in Cleveland of 400 people addressed by Sargent Shriver, Democratic vice-presidential candidate, the YSJP sold 95 copies of the McGovern truth kit.

To get your copy of the revised and updated edition of this pamphlet containing McGovern's voting record and an analysis of his campaign, send a quarter to the national campaign committee. On orders of 50 or more, the price is 15c.



Robbie Scherr

Militant/Howard Petrick

Robbie Scherr, SWP candidate for Congress in Cleveland's 23rd C.D., issued a statement on Sept. 6 blasting her opponent, Democrat Dennis Kucinich, for refusing to debate her. Scherr, on Aug. 30, had publicly challenged Kucinich to an open debate "any time, any place," to discuss the issues of the congressional campaign.

"The real reason Kucinich refuses to debate is that he doesn't consider the issues that I am raising in my campaign to be serious issues—the war in Vietnam, equal rights for women and minority groups, and an end to the pollution of our environment," she said.

"Anyone who refuses to debate the issues relevant to young people and let them decide for themselves who they want to support in November is either lying when he says he represents young people or is lying about his true stand on the issues. My challenge to debate the issues still stands—any time, any place."

The drive to get the SWP on the ballot in Arizona is under way. Between Sept. 13 and Sept. 19, SWP campaign supporters will be circulating petitions to get more than 8,000 signatures to place Jenness and Pulley on the state ballot. Rallies are planned in Phoenix on Friday, Sept. 22, and in Tucson on Sept. 23. For more information, or to help in the petition campaign, Arizonans should contact the Tucson YSJP, c/o Betsy MacDonald, Box 50031, Tucson, Ariz. 85703.

Looking for a novel way to publicize the SWP campaign? Order a campaign T-shirt. For a \$3.50 donation, you can get shirts imprinted with "Linda Jenness for President" (with a women's liberation symbol), or a "Vote Socialist Workers" shirt. Specify choice of large or extra large and list first and second color preferences. Orders must be prepaid.

The following two letters are among those received by the national campaign committee this week:

"Dear Friends,

"Enclosed are six endorsers for Jenness and Pulley. I had previously signed one, so that makes seven of us at Terre Haute Federal Penitentiary (that I know of) who have endorsed the Socialist Workers Campaign. If you'll send more campaign literature, I'm sure more Brothers will want to sign up. For A Socialist America!—Les Bayless (I don't mind having my name printed—nothing to lose but my chains!)"

"Dear Sir:

Send me a bulk amount of stickers and brochures that my friends and I may distribute. I'm proud to say that I alone have converted eight people from capitalists to Socialists just by preaching the pros of socialism and explaining our SWP's stand on various issues. Thank you.—Jeffrey Macolinio, Avon, N.J."

Address all requests for literature and information to: SWP 1972 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 989-7676.

— LARRY SEIGLE

Fight speedup, layoffs

'Longest strike in General Motors history'

By CHARLES MITTS

NORWOOD, Ohio—On April 7 some 4,000 members of United Auto Workers Local 674 walked off their jobs at the General Motors Assembly Division plant in Norwood, Ohio, a suburb of Cincinnati. "This is the longest strike in General Motors history," I was told by Richard Minton, president of Local 674, in a recent interview.

Like the recent strike by UAW workers in Lordstown, Ohio, the Norwood strike also stems from the replacement of two managements—Fisher Body and Chevrolet Division—with a single management, the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD). The goal of GMAD is to increase "efficiency" in the plants, and this was done by laying off 749 workers without decreasing the assembly-line speed.

"Management came in and pulled out 749 members and still wanted to get the same amount of work," Minton said. "This was impossible—guys could not perform the work. And if they could not perform the work they were given DLOs, which are disciplinary layoffs. We had approximately 800 DLOs prior to April 7."

In addition to the speedup, management is trying to use the negotiations for a new GMAD contract to get rid of certain pay scales, seniority rights, and other provisions favorable to the workers in the old Fisher Body and Chevrolet contracts.

I spoke with a rank-and-file member of Local 674 who put it this way: "Fisher Body and Chevrolet changed their name to GMAD and they just thought they had the right to void our contracts and start laying people off. On jobs where they had agreed

there would be three men, now there's only one. They thought they could just break the contract like that."

The union is fighting for reinstatement of the prior contract provisions, as well as rehiring of the laid-off workers or cutting back of the assembly-line speed.

I asked Richard Minton about the



Militant/Charles Mitts

Richard Minton, president of UAW local 674.

similarities between the Norwood situation and the previous strike in Lordstown. He replied that the issues regarding working conditions were identical. "But at Norwood," he stated, "we are not going to sell our people short. All that we want is what we got coming. No more, no less, and we're willing to stay out as long as it takes."

Minton thought morale among the strikers was "awfully good." He said,

"I've talked to a majority of the people, and they still maintain the same position as they did April 7. They say, 'We're not going back under the same conditions in the plant.'"

Another Local 674 member had a somewhat different evaluation. "It depends on who you talk to. I know some fellows whose morale is pretty high, and then again among some it's pretty low. There are fellows who are hard hit, let's be honest about it. And they have children, families, school's starting."

His reaction to the GMAD moves was that "The company wants to do with us just like they would do with hogs—just put them from one pen into another, from one department into another. You put in time, and they don't want you to have any job seniority or anything like that."

I asked what he thought of the government wage controls and the justification for them that wage increases cause inflation. He answered, "Well, if you remember, prices went up long before wages ever started to go up. . . . Wages are the last thing to go up and the first thing to go down. Look at your history, look at your economic situation all throughout the years."

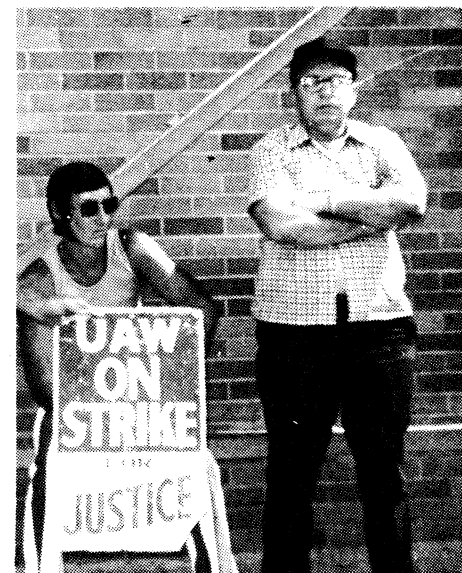
I asked if the company is bargaining in good faith. "Well," he responded, "we elected a bargaining committee to go in there and do our bargaining for us. We elected them, or at least I feel this way—a lot of fellows don't feel this way, but this is my personal opinion—I elected my committeeman to represent me because I trusted he was qualified."

"According to what he tells me—which is very little—no, the company

is not necessarily bargaining in good faith, they're not trying to bargain," he said. "They wanted this strike, I think."

Moving to the question of labor and the 1972 elections, I asked what he thought of the idea of forming a labor party instead of supporting the Democrats. "I don't know as it would be an answer, but it would be a good step in the right direction. Yes, I think so."

"I think our two-party system is—well, they just pass the ball back and forth. That's evident down through history again. We need a third party, a strong party—I wouldn't want to see more than maybe three parties—but a strong party, maybe by the labor people, which might make the other two parties—kind of push them into shape."



Militant/Charles Mitts

Local 674 members picket Norwood G.M. plant.

Union in crisis

Issues facing national typographers union

The following article was written by a member of the International Typographical Union Local 6 in New York City.

The 114th national convention of the International Typographical Union (ITU), held in Milwaukee Aug. 5-11, revealed a union in crisis, battered by the Taft-Hartley Act, automation, the Pay Board, and acute pension problems. Neither the leadership nor the delegates acted to cope effectively with any of these problems.

The two major actions of the convention were to reduce strike benefits and dues and to recommend integration of the ITU fraternal pension with the jointly administered employer-union negotiated pension plan.

With respect to reducing strike benefits and dues, ITU President John Pilch proudly announced that "through the efforts of the Executive Council, strikes and lockouts are occurring with less frequency and of shorter duration than formerly, hence less cost to the membership."

How was this miracle accomplished? By the ugly method of capitulation and class collaboration. Attorney Van Arkel, chief counsel for the ITU, reports with respect to the Pay Board: "For the first time in my life I found myself practicing law by watching television and reading the newspapers. . . ."

"If I read the AFL-CIO's position correctly, they are not so much calling for a repeal of these limitations as they are suggesting that they do not go far enough . . . instead of seeking repeal they seek an extension of gov-

ernment controls. So my present mood is pessimistic, and I fear we shall have to live with these unhappy laws for some time to come."

President Pilch in his final report commented, "all should recognize this unfair and inequitable law and aid in the repeal, or free collective bargaining will remain in government and chains."

No resolution was submitted calling for the AFL-CIO to refuse to accept Pay Board edicts. No condemnation was made of AFL-CIO President George Meany's game to help set up the Pay Board in the first place or of his continued support to it after he walked out.

The policy of capitulation was highlighted in the dispute between the New York local and the Trenton, N.J., local. The dispute involves a runaway plant performing the work of a struck plant in New York. On a technicality President Pilch ruled that only the local can define struck work, and since the Trenton local denied the existence of struck work, he was powerless to act in behalf of the New York strikers under ITU laws.

But he lifted the lid in his remarks at the convention when he admitted that the Taft-Hartley law restricts action on "prior struck work clauses . . . we have done everything legally possible in this situation . . . if the convention orders us to do something certainly we would be unable to do so in view of the financial liabilities that might be exacted against us. . . . We definitely do not have the power to do anything about this."

Thus, basing himself on legalism, Pilch refused to conduct any defense of the union against runaway practices.

The proposed merger of the ITU fraternal pension with the negotiated Industrial Pension Plan reflects the crisis arising from changes in the industry because of automation and new technology. The ratio of pensioners to members is becoming more and more unfavorable for the fraternal benefit plan, which is union operated and which pays equally to all regardless of contributions. It has lost its actuarial soundness because of a declining membership ratio.

"In seven years," said Hughes, a delegate from Los Angeles Local 1721, "there is not going to be any fraternal pension plan according to the best actuarial studies presented to us. That is, if we are going to operate it on a sound basis."

Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Koepke of New York Local 6, a delegate, commented, "I am disappointed because we have nothing to take back of an accomplished nature. . . . We have a runaway inflation situation. . . . They [pensioners] have a fixed income. . . . I have to face 2,200 of those men. . . . We are running out of time on our pension problems."

Not one single reference was made to the importance of fighting for an adequate government pension to cover not only printers but all workers. The narrow craft outlook predominated throughout.

Proposition 161 called for the organization of kindred trades in graphic

arts and communications by issuing a certificate of affiliation that would grant no voting rights but would provide organizational assistance.

This is a timid step toward what is needed—an industrial union of all graphic-arts workers. But it limits this possibility by undemocratically subordinating the new sections to the old, thereby blocking effective organization of the majority in the printing trades who are unorganized.

A resolution to seek speedy merger with other AFL-CIO printing trades crafts in order to establish an industrial union was voted down in favor of maintaining existing "cooperation."

The convention adopted routine resolutions against the Taft-Hartley law, for an end to the Pay Board, in support of farm workers, and for the AFL-CIO national health plan.

In addition, it voted to support Senate bill 3758, which protects second-class mailing rights for periodicals with small circulations by providing government subsidies.

It voted down resolutions for industry-wide councils and for a single union of mailers and printers.

The convention voted down resolutions against the Vietnam war on the grounds of non-intervention in government foreign policy.

This once-proud union, ravaged by industrial changes beyond its control, has lost touch with the young workers who are preparing the type and operating the modern presses, and who are in their vast majority unorganized.

Raza Unida parties to McGovern &

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

EL PASO, Texas — The first national convention of Raza Unida parties, meeting here Sept. 1-4, rejected support to either the Democratic or Republican parties in the 1972 presidential race. The convention, called and organized by José Angel Gutiérrez, Texas Raza Unida Party founder, attracted more than 1,000 observers and state caucus participants from 18 states in addition to the 268 national voting delegates.

Delegates were present from California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado—states where Raza Unida parties are already organized. And delegates came from states such as Illinois, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Washington, where there are as yet no party formations.

The resolution calling for "complete independence" from the Democratic and Republican parties declared that the Raza Unida parties "Support none of the two major candidates for President of the United States." This was seen as an important victory for those forces led by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales and the rest of the Colorado delegation over those who favored endorsing George McGovern.

The Colorado party had taken a clear stand both at its recent state conventions and at a national leadership meeting in June of no support to either McGovern or Nixon, and of no support to, or negotiations with, the Democrats and Republicans at any level.

The Texas delegation, led by Raza Unida Party State Chairman Mario Compean and José Angel Gutiérrez, prior to the convention had supported the perspective of possibly endorsing



Militant/Harry Ring

Jose Angel Gutierrez elected chairman of the Congreso de Aztlan.

McGovern or Nixon. This viewpoint was expressed in a newsletter distributed at El Paso. Both Nixon and McGovern had been invited to address the convention but failed to show up.

The "balance of power" position, as the Texas Raza Unida Party perspective has become known, was first advocated by José Angel Gutiérrez in an open letter to the National Chicano Political Caucus, meeting April 22-23 in San Jose, Calif. The letter was subsequently published in *La Gente* in Los Angeles.

At the state convention of the Texas RUP in June, Gutiérrez again projected the strategy of possibly supporting Nixon or McGovern. In his open letter he stated, "We need to keep white America divided evenly between

Democrats and Republicans. And we need to shift our bloc of votes from election to election."

He called for making a series of demands on both McGovern and Nixon with the idea that "We can vote for the Democrat or the Republican Presidential candidates if they cooperate or vote for ourselves locally and forget about the President."

Issues unclear

Many convention participants expected the opposing perspectives advocated by Gonzales and Gutiérrez to be fully aired at the El Paso convention, as both were keynote speakers. The Aug.-Sept. issue of the Texas Raza Unida Party *Newsletter* explained that the "choosing of a strategy stands to be one of the most crucial issues facing the convention."

While Gonzales clearly presented his views of maintaining the independent character of the Raza Unida parties, Gutiérrez, who spoke after Gonzales, retreated from his "balance of power" position, neither defending it nor stating if he now rejected such a strategy.

This was unfortunate since a full and open discussion of these two opposing perspectives would have helped clarify, for hundreds of delegates, the key issues before the convention. Lack of political clarity also marked the election of a chairman for the *Congreso de Aztlan*, a coordinating body set up by the convention consisting of three delegates from each state.

Both Gonzales and Gutiérrez were nominated for the post, but only Gonzales chose to explain his political views. As in his keynote address, Gonzales stated that the Raza Unida parties must not be "endorsing" organizations and must maintain their independent character, refusing to support Democrats or Republicans. Gutiérrez, on the other hand, stated that the issue was not the election of Gonzales or himself but merely the "election of a national chairman."

Gutiérrez, who had organized the convention, won the election 256 1/6 to 170 5/6. The Colorado delegation then supported a motion to make Gutiérrez's election unanimous in the interest of unity.

The *congreso* is expected to draft a national platform based on resolutions passed at the convention. The resolutions adopted included "immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and Indochina"; "Community control of social, economic, political and education institutions"; "Enforcement of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo"; an "End of right to work laws"; and to "Pledge responsible support to the struggle of Latina women in their struggle for equal rights in all spheres of life."

Another Chicano leader who addressed the convention was Reyes López Tijerina, who stated that "unity comes before ideas, organizations, and leaders." Tijerina was later quoted in the Sept. 4 *El Paso Herald-Post* as stating that Gonzales's stand of no compromise with the Democratic or Republican parties was an "expression of frustration," and that he would continue working with "Spanish-surnamed Americans who work for the Republican and Democratic parties."

Also invited to speak at the convention, although he did not attend, was César Chávez.



Militant/Harry Ring

"We've had promises made before. . . the Chicano has come out on the short end. . . the only results that have come for the Chicano community have come from our reaction, have come from the marches and the struggles and the pickets."—Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales addressing Raza Unida national convention.

While the overwhelming sentiment of those present at the convention was to refuse support to McGovern or Nixon, a defense was made for the strategy of campaigning for McGovern under the guise of remaining "independent." This view was put forward in the Sept. 2 issue of the *People's World*, the West Coast paper reflecting the views of the Communist Party, which was distributed free at the convention.

In an article by Juan López, entitled "Which way La Raza Unida?" the strategy of "dump Nixon" (otherwise known as "elect McGovern") was advocated as a correct course for the Raza Unida parties to take. López enumerated a series of demands the Raza Unida parties should take up, explaining that "Nixon supports the exact opposite" and that "McGovern doesn't go far enough."

According to López, by developing a platform that does "go far enough" we would force "McGovern and other liberal politicians in the Democratic party to become more responsive to the needs of the people." López stated that if such a platform "aims its fire at Nixon [it] will play its part in national politics to avert Nixon's reelection."

In a bitter attack on the position taken by Corky Gonzales, the Colorado delegation, and the majority of participants at the El Paso convention, the *People's World* stated, "to concentrate our fire equally on both Nixon and McGovern would not only aid Nixon but, just as important, would lay the basis for what the Democratic and Republican party regulars want—the isolation of LRUP from the masses of Raza people."

"To fail to help defeat Nixon [read: elect McGovern—A.C.] is to confuse people and win their disrespect and scorn. [!] The people will ask, and rightly so, what kind of party is this that while it talks good and does good work, when it comes to the decisive question of curbing the drive toward fascism [a threat the CP raises every time it's trying to elect a "good" democrat—A.C.], insists on yelling from the sidelines like the religious fanatic

who can't see past his damnation of a doomed world."

No. The "religious fanatics" are not those like Corky Gonzales who have principles and have not given them up in the opportunist stampede of this election year. Rather they are the Communist Party and those others who, despite the years of treachery and betrayal by the Democratic Party with regard to La Raza, Blacks, and all working people, continue to pound the drums for almost every liberal capitalist politician and urge the rest of us to do likewise.

Instead of winning the "disrespect and scorn" of La Raza, the position taken by the national convention of Raza Unida parties of *no support* to either Democrats or Republicans stands as a proud example of the kind of *independent* Chicano political party La Raza needs, and the kind of party needed to win the respect and following of all our people.

'Loyalty' oath

One ominous aspect of the convention was the introduction by José Angel Gutiérrez of a two-part "loyalty affidavit," one part of which had to be signed by every conference participant in order to qualify as a national voting delegate.

The first oath read: "I, _____, have not voted, nor will I vote, participate, or be party to the primary elections, conventions, petitions, or affairs of any other political party and hereby declare and pledge my allegiance to the Raza Unida Party for the current voting year."

The alternative oath read: "I, _____, void and renounce allegiance to any other political party. I hereby declare and pledge my allegiance to the Raza Unida Party for the current voting year."

While Gutiérrez stated that the oaths were for the purpose of excluding from the conference "Democrats, Republicans, socialists and communists," their real aim was to exclude Raza members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, uncompromising opponents of both capitalist parties.

say no Nixon

Raza members of the SWP and YSA have been consistent supporters and in some places among the initiators, popularizers, and builders of the Raza Unida Party formations. They are also supporters of the SWP presidential ticket of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley—the only candidates for president and vice-president to declare their support for the building of independent Raza Unida parties to represent and organize La Raza.

Interestingly enough, the "loyalty" oaths did not preclude voting for Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern. More ironic, however, was the fact that Chicano socialists were forcefully excluded from participating in the Texas caucus (even as observers), while the leaders of that caucus thought nothing of inviting gringo, capitalist politician George McGovern to address the convention!

But it is particularly hypocritical that the Texas organizers used nationalist rhetoric to cover their exclusionary policy. At the state convention of the Texas Raza Unida Party meeting June 10 in San Antonio, there was an Anglo delegate from the Tarrant County Raza Unida Party who not only had credentials and voted but addressed the convention as well.

Seeming to reaffirm this policy of allowing Anglos to freely participate in the RUP in Texas, while excluding Chicano socialists, Mario Compean, Texas RUP state chairman, told the El Paso gathering that in Texas they would continue recruiting members "regardless of race."

The exclusion of Raza members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance from California, Texas, Arizona, Illinois, Colorado, Michigan, New York, and Massachusetts was favored precisely by those forces who hoped to endorse McGovern and viewed the outspoken position against both McGovern and Nixon taken by the SWP and YSA as an obstacle to that goal.

Despite the exclusion from the Texas caucus and the denial of the right to be national voting delegates, members of the YSA and SWP were able to present their ideas to many delegates in informal discussions. Many delegates opposed the "loyalty" oath but signed in protest to be able to participate as voting delegates.

About 180 conference delegates bought copies of *The Militant*. SWP campaign literature and Pathfinder Press pamphlets on the Chicano struggle were also sold and distributed.

Material had to be sold outside the convention hall because of a proposal by Gutiérrez that all literature be banned unless all money from sales was turned over to the convention organizers. A meeting of Chicano movement media people protested this ruling.

Although a more thorough discussion on the various strategies open to the Raza Unida parties did not take place, the convention was nevertheless an important step forward in the development of Raza Unida parties. Corky Gonzales told *The Militant* at the conclusion of the convention that "The fact that it [the Raza Unida Party] is a no-compromise party was established by the delegations and the conference. It is a nonbargaining party. It will not bargain with either of the two party candidates."

Arturo Vázquez, a delegate from Illinois, stated that "the conference, as everyone says, was a very important event in the life of La Raza and the life of the party as it is developing and unfolding all over the country."

Evaluating what had taken place at the convention, Vázquez told this reporter, "I think you had here represented two contending forces. . . . The forces of those people who were willing to adopt accommodationist policies to the two parties which are presently oppressing us in this country—the two ruling parties that have not had the interest of the Chicano at heart—and the forces of people represented in persons like Corky Gonzales who want to maintain the independence of our movement at any cost."

"They will not compromise with the principle of independence. They will not cooperate with the parties that are the parties of the corporations and the goddamn murderers like the guys that are doing things in Vietnam."

"And those forces clashed here, and I think the forces representing independence, representing the desire for nationalism, for independence of our movement, really won. Because we proved here that we were not going to let people sell out our Chicano brothers and sisters all over the nation."

José Gonzales, a leader of the Colorado delegation, put it succinctly: "We came down here with a very positive philosophy, and our number-one priority was that we didn't endorse any of the presidential candidates, and we accomplished that."

On what to do next, Vázquez stated: "Organize, organize!"

'Post Viet Syndrome': grief, guilt, numbness

By LEE SMITH

"The bathroom turned into fields of Vietnamese I had killed and all I could see was blood all over the walls and the floor, and the bodies of gooks grinning at me." The Vietnam veteran who spoke those words, quoted in the Aug. 28 *New York Times*, was describing what happened to him when he took mescaline for the first time a few nights before he tried to kill himself with an overdose of sleeping pills.

Sonny, as the *Times* identified him, is one of the more extreme victims of PVS (Post Vietnam Syndrome), a

lems that crop up with full force back in the states may first show in Vietnam. "I have strong feelings that drug-taking behavior prevented psychiatric casualties that otherwise would have been manifested in more traditional ways," he told the *Times*. "Heroin is a powerful tranquilizer."

Others interviewed by the *Times* suggested that the methods now used to treat "nervous exhaustion" at the front—a brief rest in bed near the front with the GI made aware he will soon return to combat—reduce the number of breakdowns but may have effects that show up later.



Militant/Steve Dash

Antiwar GIs and vets demonstrate against war Nov. 6, 1971, in Atlanta, Ga. For many Vietnam vets, horror of Vietnam service leads to political protest.

catch-all phrase for the emotional pain many vets suffer as a consequence of their service in the Southeast Asian war.

While a minority of PVS cases are as severe as Sonny's, the affliction is widespread. Just how widespread is the subject of controversy. The Nixon administration is not blind to what PVS implies about its war policies, and the *Times* reports the official view of the problem "as mild compared with the staggering number of combat-zone breakdowns that occurred among World War II servicemen."

But while there are no firmly reliable statistics to contradict the government's version, there is enough evidence to cast serious doubt on its accuracy. The *New York Times* article reported that men and women on regional Veterans Administration staffs, while reluctant to be identified with statements contradicting their superiors, "are convinced that the figures used in Washington are more revealing of political pressures than reality."

The figures used in the official rosy version indicate that there are only 12 mental breakdowns per 1,000 troops. The rate for Korea was 37 per 1,000; for World War II it was 101 per 1,000.

But PVS does not always or even most often mean a breakdown. And the very name indicates that it does not occur in the combat zone, but later—after discharge, when the veteran must readjust to civilian life.

"I'd say that 50 percent of the men returning from Vietnam need some form of professional help to overcome the problems of adjustment," said Dr. Cherry Cedarleaf, a senior staff psychiatrist on leave from the Minneapolis VA hospital, according to the *Times*.

Dr. George Solomon, who works in psychiatric research at the Palo Alto, Calif., VA hospital, questioned the 12 per 1,000 combat-zone breakdown figure. He speculated that signs of prob-

But however true it may be that signs of disturbance first show up in combat, it is when the GI returns to civilian life that he feels the full impact of PVS. The *Times* writer describes what greets the GI after he is flown directly from the war zone to Oakland, Calif., processed out, and walks through the gate of the Oakland Army Terminal:

"There are no bands there. No welcoming committees of grateful citizens. There is a black ghetto, the smell of industrial wastes, and usually a long line of traffic backed up to the ramps of the Bay Bridge to San Francisco."

Because of the government's desire to minimize the problem, literally tens of thousands of veterans discover they are having difficulty coping with a return to civilian life and that they are without official help. The grave psychic crippling of these war victims has also been recognized by psychiatrists who are not associated with the Veterans Administration.

The *Times* cites the investigations of Dr. Robert Lifton of Yale, Dr. Gerald Caplin of Harvard, Dr. Chaim Shatin of New York, and Dr. Peter Bourne of Atlanta. "Their conclusions," the newspaper says, "while they do not consistently share one another's views, point to a malaise that is directly traceable to the Vietnam experience."

"Dr. Lifton referred to 'psychic numbing,' the inability to love, and Dr. Shatin mentions the 'grief of soldiers,' the compounded shame and guilt over surviving a war where so many others had perished. And there is the question of the morality of the war itself."

The last mentioned question is undoubtedly a key to the extent and the intensity of the PVS agony. The suffering of these veterans is another part of the toll paid for Washington's continued prosecution of a cruel and unjust war opposed by the majority of the American people and not believed in by the soldiers themselves.



California delegates caucus during El Paso convention

Militant/Harry Ring

In Review

Books Closing Circle



The Closing Circle: Nature, Man and Technology by Barry Commoner. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. New York, 1971. 326 pp. \$6.95 cloth.

Having helped to make the public conscious of the danger to the environment, Barry Commoner now addresses himself to the problem of who, or what, is responsible for pollution. His book is easily the most significant of its kind since the appearance of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*.

A longtime activist in efforts to spread scientific knowledge, Commoner helped organize groups such as the St. Louis Committee for Nuclear Information (renamed the Committee for Environmental Information) and has been a professor of biology at Washington University since 1947. He has also been a controversial figure because of his skepticism about the theory of overpopulation.

In contrast to the population hysterics, Commoner suggests that the present crisis "is not the product of man's biological capabilities which could not change in time to save us, but of his social actions—which are subject to much more rapid social change."

While rising population does increase consumption, it alone fails to explain why pollutants have increased so much since 1946: nitrogen oxides up 630 percent; nitrogen fertilizer pollution up 789 percent; tetraethyl lead up 415 percent. Also, new pollutants (plastics, detergents, DDT, radioactivity) are present for the first time in history.

Commoner's thesis is that the current crisis is rooted in the technological upheaval that followed World War II. The new technologies are more harmful in their effects on nature than were the old ones. The use, production, and disposal of plastics, aluminum, and detergents are much more disruptive of vital ecological cycles than those of the wood, steel, and soap they replaced.

But this world-scale retooling without regard for environmental considerations has not been the result of mere spite or stupidity. It was the inevitable result of the profit system and the control over technology exercised by a minority. As Commoner stated in a recent speech, "if it turns out that you make more money making detergents than soap, then of course they'll make detergents... only they forgot to consult the ecosystem."

This honesty in revealing the real roots of the pollution crisis make Commoner's book a refreshing experience. While he does not use Marxist terms and stops far short of recommending revolution, many of Commoner's conclusions logically suggest the need for a fundamental change in social organization.

"Ecologically faulty technology," he writes, operates "to the advantage of the producer and to the disadvantage of the population as a whole" introducing a conflict of interest between the industrial ruling class and the masses.

To modify his equipment, the industrialist must either lower wages or raise prices, attacking the living standards of working people and the poor. "Thus," Commoner says, "the attempt to meet the real social costs of environmental degradation... would appear to intensify the long-standing competition between capital and labor over the division of wealth...."

Commoner sketches in rough form a program for environmental action: rational planning of production; nationalization of socially necessary enterprises; a massive national effort to recycle all resources (including organic waste); and utilizing current technology with less harmful modes of production.

His estimated price tag for saving the environment is \$40-billion a year for the next 25 years. This figure alone indicates that the ecological crisis cannot be resolved short of a confrontation with the ruling class and a social revolution.

No discussion of *The Closing Circle* would be complete without mention of the sharp attacks it has received, particularly from zero population growth advocate Paul Ehrlich. The debate has escalated into a full-scale feud, with Commoner's theories being labeled "irresponsible" and "dangerous." Ehrlich received a violent denunciation from students from undeveloped countries sympathetic to Commoner at the United Nations Conference on the Environment recently held in Sweden.

Ehrlich seeks to divide the responsibility for pollution between the masses (for their procreation) and the ruling class. Commoner, on the other hand, directs his fire squarely at the elite that owns and controls the "counter-ecological technology" and that defends "the economic mechanisms that generate them."

Illustrative of Ehrlich's elitism was his campaign to stifle the entire discussion; first, by attempting to arrange a gentleman's agreement with Commoner not to bring the issues into public light (see the April issue of *Environment*) and then by calling for the censure of "politically active scientists" at the last gathering of the American Physical Society.

The question at stake is the capacity of the masses of Americans to control all technology and use it for human well-being. *The Closing Circle* points in this direction and deserves the widest possible distribution and study.

—STEVE BECK

Being There

Being There by Jerzy Kosinski. Bantam Books. New York, 1972. \$1.25 paper.

With his freshly cleaned typewriter, Jerzy Kosinski has produced in this novel a gem of satire. He throws his clever little darts at all the corporate statesmen, the TV politicians, the lifeless technocrats, and the pompous bureaucrats who run this country through fiction, through lies, through glittering ambiguities. The style is clear and crisp—the story, a ruling-class fantasy.

The hero is Chance, illiterate and brought up from childhood in a walled-in estate, who has no contact with the outside world. The Old Man, a millionaire, keeps him isolated as a favor since on the outside he would be locked away, being "insane," or so he's told. So he just cares for the garden and watches TV all his life—nothing more.

That is, until the Old Man dies. Then the estate gets locked up and Chance is forced out onto the streets of Manhattan. In a matter of days, he is thrown into national and international prominence—thanks to his character.

For Chance, or Chauncey Gardiner as he's now called, is a completely passive individual, no original thoughts, no real emotions, nothing. He's a blank page, a hollow reed that can be filled with whatever one wants. A disciple of the TV, he has learned all the correct responses, he has learned how to act "properly."

The stage for his rise to prominence is U.S. capitalism. Inflation, unemployment, civil disorders are the backdrop. Mistaken for a businessman by other businessmen and corporate heads, they ask his opinion on the state of the economy. His simple, childlike answers about a "garden" are interpreted as profound wisdom.

The president, in a televised speech on the economy, does a take-off on Chauncey Gardiner's tale: the garden (capitalism) has its seasons. Although it may now be winter in the garden, spring is not far off, and things will bloom once more.

Sound familiar?

Throughout the novel, Chance serves as a mirror that reflects the shallowness and mediocrity of those around him. He goes through a whirlwind of talk shows, celebrity parties, and interviews. Because he doesn't really say anything, the elite of this society impart to him whatever image they wish—the dashing financier, the profound statesman, the masculine lover. The hero of the ruling class. "People like Gardiner decide the fate of millions every day!"

It is no wonder then that in the closing pages Chance is chosen in a smoke-filled back room as a candidate. "He's personable, well-spoken, and he comes across well on TV!" Besides, who could better reflect the interests of business than this thoughtless parrot who simply repeats what he's been-taught?

Kosinski's satire also strikes out accurately at the mediocre bureaucrats who presently run the Soviet Union. The Soviet ambassador gives a speech before the International Congress of the Mercantile Association in Philadelphia. He calls Chance one of the "enlightened statesmen" who would like to see closer ties between the U.S. and the USSR.

Earlier, the ambassador mentioned to Chance, alluding to the Stalinist concept of peaceful co-existence with imperialism, "We are not so far from each other, not so far!" Chance replies that they aren't, their chairs are almost touching.

The ambassador: "Our chairs are indeed almost touching! And—how shall I put it—we both want to remain seated on them, don't we? Neither of us wants his chair snatched from under him, am I right? Am I correct? Good! Excellent! Because if one goes, the other goes and then—boom!—we are both down, and no one wants to be down before his time, eh?"

—ERNIE HARSCH

The Limits of Power, The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1945-1954 by Joyce and Gabriel Kolko. Harper and Row. New York, 1972. 820 pp. \$15.00.

By MILTON ALVIN

This is a long and detailed study of American imperialism's drive for world domination in the decade following World War II. Gabriel Kolko, professor of history at York University in Toronto, is an already established "revisionist" historian. Joyce Kolko is a student of political science and international relations.

The revisionist school of historians consists primarily of younger investigators of the past 30 to 40 years of American history. Their ranks have been increasing and the evidence they have gathered and published provides incontestable proof of the imperialist nature of American capitalism.

This book deals many hard blows to the theory, popularized by every U.S. administration, at least those since President Franklin Roosevelt's, that American foreign policy is inspired by humanitarian causes.

The authors use a large canvas upon which they paint the many shapes and colors of American foreign policy. They have pictured what the U.S. government has done in virtually every nation of Europe, both those with whom it was allied during the war and those who were its enemies. They show how American policy was carried out in Greece, Turkey, and the Middle East, and in China, Korea, Japan, and Indochina.

The various devices used by the U.S. to further its world aims, such as the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), are subjected to close scrutiny by the authors. The final product is a picture of the most powerful imperialist drive in all history.

"Essentially, the United States' aim was to restructure the world so that American business could trade, operate, and profit without restrictions everywhere. On this there was absolute unanimity among the American leaders," the authors write.

After defeating their imperialist rivals, Germany and Japan, American rulers lost little time in further reducing their chief capitalist allies, England and France, to a lower status. At the same time America's principal efforts were directed toward isolating the Soviet Union and lessening its influence outside its own borders.

The latter task, as seen in U.S. ruling circles, included preventing revolutions in other countries, which they deliberately attributed to the Stalinist rulers of the USSR, even though they knew the Soviet leaders were conservative and antirevolutionary.

The American drive was successful with regard to England and France, both impoverished by two world wars and the long depression of the 1930s. Where these countries once paraded on the imperialist stage dressed in ermines and silks, they now appeared in tattered rags partly mended with American patches.

Germany and Japan presented even sorer pictures. With large parts of their industrial plants destroyed in the war, occupied by the victors and trying to function under restrictive rules and regulations, these countries took a number of years just to reach levels of production and standards of living they had achieved before the war.

Cold war

In 1947, only two years after World War II ended, the United States launched the cold war. A political crisis in Greece, during which American financial support replaced England's, was used by President Harry Truman

U.S. postwar drive for world domination



to define United States policy in global terms. He promised to support "free peoples" everywhere and to protect nations against outside pressures and internal armed uprisings.

These bellicose statements were directed against insurgents everywhere and against the Soviet Union. This postwar policy, starting as the "Truman Doctrine" and expanded to include military and economic interventions in other countries, has been followed by every administration in Washington since then.

In throwing down the gauntlet to revolutionaries and the Soviet Union, Truman, in passing, assigned the fledgling United Nations to a position of a mere accessory to American imperialist aims.

Republican Party doubts about Truman's obviously contrived belligerency quickly melted as it became clear that financial assistance to Greece and Turkey was really inspired by the presence of huge amounts of oil nearby.

The Truman Doctrine was soon accepted by American rulers as postwar policy. It was followed by the Marshall Plan of economic and financial aid to other countries designed to run for four years, 1948 to 1952. The Marshall Plan was aimed at stabilizing European capitalism and developing a lucrative market for U.S. goods and investment.

The Marshall Plan could not have been so successful if it had not been for the posture assumed by the Stalinist leaders in the Kremlin and their supporters, especially the huge Communist parties of France and Italy.

Stalinist policy following the war had "peaceful coexistence" as its first priority. Based on the spheres of influence secretly agreed upon at the "Big Three" summit meetings, Moscow cooperated with imperialism in stabilizing these countries in the western orbit. This was translated for Communist parties in these countries as cooperation with their capitalist classes to rebuild the prewar systems, including the imperialist systems of England, France, and other countries.

The Kolkos have recounted Stalinist policies in some detail both in Europe and Asia. In doing so they have correctly recognized the importance of this to American imperialist problems and at the same time have called at-

tention to many Stalinist betrayals of revolutionary movements.

Aims of U.S. imperialism

The authors sum up the aims of American imperialism in the postwar period as follows: "By June 1948 the United States had embarked on its ambitious program to reconstruct European capitalism in a manner that could sustain American trade, so vital in the postwar world to the very survival of American capitalism as it had emerged from the holocaust of World War II, immensely enriched but yet more vulnerable and dependent because of its very size and wealth. Unable to alter its internal economic priorities, American capitalism could only turn outward, not with disinterested aid but with new designs to save itself."

The most serious defeats administered to world imperialism took place in Asia. The authors describe in considerable detail what happened in China following World War II. By and large, their story of American efforts to make peace between Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communist Party, and the Chiang regime's corruption and the self-defeating policies it carried out is accurate.

Despite Soviet support and American pressures, Chiang refused to accept any kind of accommodation with the Chinese CP. He forced a civil war upon the CP-led forces, a war the Mao-

ists were anxious to avoid.

The ensuing civil war quickly showed that Chiang could not hold the support of anyone in China except the thin layer of beneficiaries of his graft-ridden and corrupt regime. In this way, the Chinese CP armies triumphed in the war.

American imperialism stood by as this drama unfolded, giving some aid to Chiang but unable to intervene decisively. The majority of the American people would not have supported any large-scale interventions in China, and U.S. soldiers had already shown their attitude in the huge "Bring Us Home" movements that followed the end of World War II.

Within a year of the Chinese CP's victory, the war in Korea broke out in all its destructive fury. Here a junior Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee in South Korea, provoked the war with the Communist Party-led north. The Americans intervened this time with massive military forces placed under the command of General Douglas MacArthur, who held the post of proconsul of Japan.

The book describes MacArthur's many efforts to spread the Korean war to China and even to the whole world. He was backed in this aim by both Chiang Kai-shek, who by this time had been driven from the mainland to Taiwan, and Syngman Rhee. Chiang and Rhee saw their salvation only in MacArthur's plans to widen the war at least to China.

The internal struggles among America's rulers in defining their policies in these Asian areas as well as Indochina where a crisis was developing are detailed in the book. In the end the Korean war led to the ouster of MacArthur from his posts and his subsequent decline as a political figure.

The war itself ended in a stalemate that has lasted until the present time. Chiang Kai-shek, still holed up in Taiwan, was discredited in America, and Nationalist China was eventually expelled, just last year, from the United Nations.

Rhee was overthrown in a coup by military opponents some years after the war. The new Korean rulers, however, were no improvement over Rhee's murderous regime.

As a by-product of the 10-year period described in this work, an anti-"red" witch-hunt of unprecedented proportions was unleashed in the United States. This, of course, falls outside the scope of this book. However, it should be recalled that President Truman deserves the dubious distinction of starting it and Senator Joseph McCarthy of accelerating it.

It is interesting as well as instructive to observe that the factual material unearthed by the Kolkos has confirmed the positions taken by the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International. These were the only organizations that saw things the same way the authors describe

Continued on page 22



U.S. troops burn peasant homes in Korea. Commanding General MacArthur attempted to expand Korean war into China.

Calendar

BOSTON

ARAB GUERRILLAS: MURDERERS OR FIGHTERS FOR JUSTICE. THE REAL MEANING OF THE MUNICH EVENTS. Speakers: representative from a Palestinian student group; Louis Project, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 22, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Station). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETINGS. Every Wednesday at 7:30 p.m. All campaign supporters are welcome. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Station). For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

IRELAND IN REBELLION: A FIRST HAND REPORT. Speaker: Seamus O Tuathail, recently released from British concentration camp in Belfast. Fri., Sept. 22, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Brooklyn Militant Forum. For more information, call (212) 596-2849.

LOS ANGELES

THE MILITANT LABOR FORUM presents weekly forums on Friday evenings at 8:30 p.m. Some of the topics covered are: economics; ecology; the struggles of women, Blacks, and Chicanos for liberation; the anti-war movement; literature and art; the student movement; trade-union movement; and the struggles in other countries. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information, call (213) 463-1917.

NATIONAL

Linda Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, will appear on ABC-TV's "Issues and Answers" along with other candidates from the smaller parties on Sun., Oct. 8, 1 p.m. (New York time).

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

WHO FOR PRESIDENT IN '72?—A THREE-WAY DEBATE. Speakers: Robert Dreyfoos, national committeeman of McGovern-Shriver campaign; John Ralliff, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley; Robert Rodriguez, vice-president of Puerto Rican-Hispanic Young Republicans of New York State. Fri., Sept. 22, 8 p.m. N.Y. University Loeb Student Center, South Lobby, LaGuardia Pl. and 4th St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (212) 982-5940.

PHILADELPHIA

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. With Andrew Pulley, SWP vice-presidential candidate. Fri., Sept. 22, 6 p.m. refreshments, 8 p.m. rally. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1.50, h.s. students 75c. For more information, call (215) WA5-4316.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:15 a.m. every Wednesday, KPFK-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. Speaker: Delfine Welch, YSA national executive committee member. Fri., Sept. 22, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Minneapolis. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum. For more information, call (612) 332-7781.

...Black

Continued from page 9

So Baraka continues to try to chart a path toward a Black party through the swamp of Democratic Party politics, Gary and Miami notwithstanding. The heavy talk of alternative institutions serves as a convenient cloak for this opportunist strategy.

More importantly though, rather than map a course toward the mobilization of the Black community in action, Baraka sees the key to nationalist influence resting upon "running swifter" or sandbox maneuvering with the Black henchmen and henchwomen of the capitalist state. This is utter folly.

Because people such as Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Vernon Jordan of the Urban League, and Julian Bond of the Democratic Party have the backing of the corporations and the state, they will always be better at the game of backroom maneuvering than the nationalists. These opportunists are cut down to size in the arena of mass action—in the street, not in the Democratic Party or on Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) anti-poverty boards.

Unless nationalists pursue a strategy of mobilizing the Black masses against the injustices they suffer—in actions such as the May 27 African Liberation Day—all talk of a "Black value system," "alternative institutions," and even a Black party, remains utopian.

...Billings

Continued from page 11

General radical activities claimed his attention. He took an active part in the work of the old International Workers Defense League of San Francisco. This historic body, one of the forerunners of the I.L.D., had been formed originally during the Moyer-Haywood case. It was a delegate body and was held together for other defense cases. It took up the fight for Rangel and Cline in 1913 and for Ford and Suhr the following year, and many others.

Tom Mooney and Warren Billings were both delegates from their unions to the International Workers Defense League and active participants in its activities in behalf of persecuted workers. There, unknowingly, they were building the structure of an organization which was to be their strongest

support in the time of their own distress. For it was this League which first took up their defense and blazoned their story to the world. The International Workers Defense League, which Mooney and Billings helped to build, later made the Mooney-Billings case a world issue and thoroughly and completely exposed the frame-up against them.

The diabolical conspiracy against Mooney and Billings has been thoroughly exposed and is an old story now. We will tell it over again in the July number of the *Labor Defender* as the starting point of a new movement in their behalf on the twelfth anniversary of their imprisonment.

Let us hope that the observance of this twelfth anniversary will witness the awakening of the workers to a new interest in the case of Mooney and Billings and the beginning of a new resolute fight in their behalf.

...McGov

Continued from page 13

cannot come from tampering with tax laws.

Socialists emphasize that workers themselves must undertake to protect their jobs and wages. The Socialist Workers campaign program calls for:

"Opposition to all wage controls. . . .
"Cost-of-living escalator clauses in all contracts to protect workers against inflation. . . .

"To combat unemployment, shorten the workweek—with no reduction in pay—to whatever extent necessary to spread the available work to all those who need a job. . . .

"Guaranteed unemployment compensation at union wages for all those out of work, whether or not they have worked before." (See "The 1972 Socialist Workers Party Platform," available from the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.)

These concrete steps would give the working class effective tools to combat the ruling-class policies of wage freeze, inflation, and unemployment. McGovern accepts and supports these ruling-class policies.

He supports wage controls and voted for the legislation that brought them into existence. He does not support the unconditional right of workers to strike. He pretends that secondary changes in the tax laws will help redistribute wealth in capitalist America. These are the viewpoints of a

pro-capitalist liberal, not those of a person seriously dedicated to ending capitalist exploitation.

...cold war

Continued from page 21

while the events were actually taking place.

The authors have drawn the conclusion that even the immense wealth and power of American imperialism has its limits. This is underscored by the Chinese revolution and the transformation of economic systems in countries such as Cuba from private property to nationalized and planned economies. These demarcate the limits of American power.

They say, ". . . despite some generally short-lived accomplishments the United States' effort was, on the whole, increasingly a failure." This is only another way of saying that our times are featured not by the "American Century" visualized by some U.S. leaders in the 1940s but rather by a period of revolutionary changes.

The authors also observe that "America's attempt to reverse the main current in modern history was to generate misery for numerous nations of the world without eliminating their ultimate ability to define their own destinies. And, in the following decades, the inevitable consequences of its role abroad was to impose growing chaos, alienation, and economic crises on the American social system itself."

This is a very valuable book and should be studied by those interested in how American imperialism sought to reach its goals in the first decade following World War II. It is to be hoped that the Kolkos will continue their work of "revising" American history, that is, in telling the truth about it.

...Dow

Continued from page 24

tions to: General Strike Fund, Box 745, Freeport, Texas 77541.

SEPT. 13—According to a report in the Sept. 9 *Business Week*, 166 members of Local 14055 of the independent District 50 Allied and Technical Workers Union are on strike against Dow Chemical Company's plant in Bay City, Mich. The workers have been on strike since February. Weekly bargaining sessions continue with little progress reported.

Socialist Directory

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CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

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San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-8354.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Bob Quigley, 427 Main St. #206, Hartford, Conn. 06103. Tel: (203) 246-6797.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o David Bouffard, 308 S. Macomb, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

Tampa: Socialist Workers Campaign '72 c/o David Maynard, P.O. Box 702, 4100 Fletcher Ave., Tampa, Fla. 33612.

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Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Hough, 1216 1/2 Lincoln, Eugene Ore. 97401.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 201, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

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WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.—8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

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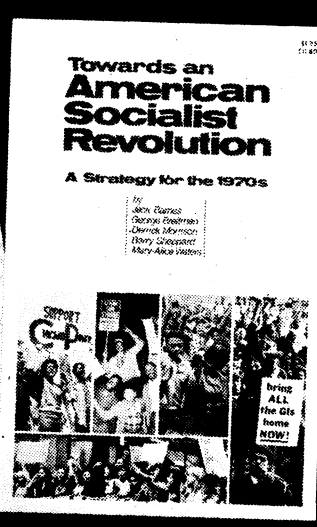
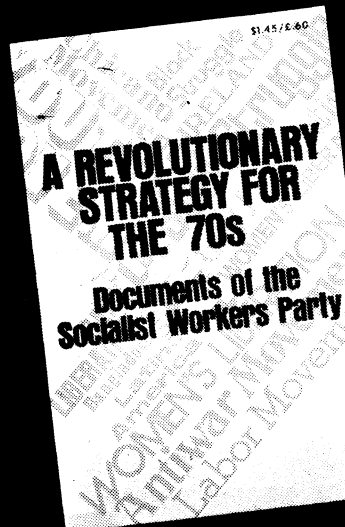
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THE MILITANT

Scab-herding attempt hit by Dow strikers

By DEBBY LEONARD

HOUSTON, Sept. 12—The 11-week strike of 3,400 workers from eight craft unions against Dow Chemical in Freeport, Texas, took a new turn yesterday. Unable to break the unity of the unionists and their families, Dow last week initiated a massive campaign to recruit scabs throughout this area.

Large ads in a number of Texas papers offered hourly wages from \$4.22 to \$5.26 and extensive fringe benefits. They announced that hiring would begin on Sept. 11 and that "those employed would permanently replace striking employees."

Dow began taking applications last week at their large modern office building in downtown Houston, some 60 miles from Freeport. The striking unions threw up a picket line in front of the building. The were joined by local supporters, including representatives of other unions and Socialist Workers Party candidates Mareen Jasin and David Rossi.

Pickers reported that the turnout of job applicants was not large, and that many turned away rather than

cross the line.

Scabs who were hired on Sept. 11 were greeted by large, spirited picket lines of women at the two main gates of the Freeport plant.

Chanting, "We're union; we're going to stay that way," "Hey, hey, what do you say, take that rat and throw him away," and shouting, "Crawl, rat, crawl," "Scab!" and "Mama rat" at the strikebreakers, the women maintained a line for two hours at each shift break.

Loud jeers were hurled at the group of company stooges who regularly stand on top of the administration building—always called "the Pentagon"—with telephoto lens cameras directed onto the picket line. The striking men turned out in large numbers and watched from the sidelines in compliance with an injunction that prohibits mass picketing by the strikers.

Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas, Debby Leonard, and several campaign supporters joined the picket lines. They received a friendly welcome from the women and the strikers.

At a brief meeting of the women



Striking Dow workers picket Texas plant

Militant/Sonny Forman

pickets, it was reported that a striker on picket duty the night before had been run down by a scab on a motor-cycle and was in the hospital.

Negotiations have resumed and are continuing. Dow has announced it will

step up hiring this week. In response, the women are planning increased picketing and activities and are seeking all the help they can get.

Send contributions and communica-

Continued on page 22

Raza militants picket L.A. McGovern rally

LOS ANGELES—Supporters of the Raza Unida Party (RUP) campaign of Raul Ruiz for the California assembly, members of CASA (Centro de Acción Social Autónomo), and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaigns of Mariana Hernández and Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley were among the more than 100 demonstrators at a Democratic Party rally featuring Senator Edward Kennedy at East Los Angeles College, Sept. 10.

The Democratic Party attempt to gather Chicano votes for McGovern was cut into by the chants, banners, and leaflets of the demonstrators. Signs carried by demonstrators read: "Deport Kennedy from Aztlan," "Raza Unida Si, Democrats No," "Abajo con las leyes racistas de inmigración [Down with the racist immigration laws]."

A statement by Mariana Hernández, SWP candidate for Congress in California's 30th C.D., was distributed to the crowd by members of all three groups participating in the demonstration. Her statement documented McGovern's meager promises and duplicity on such key issues facing the

community as the Vietnam war, the lettuce boycott, and the contradiction between La Raza Unida Party and the Democrats.

The shouts in the crowd of "Vendido [sellout]!" "Liar!" "Kennedy Go Home!" drowned out many of the Democratic Party politicians, including Kennedy and Senator Alan Cranston (D-Calif.). Democrat Richard Alatorre, who was introduced to the crowd, was defeated last November in the 48th Assembly District as a result of the RUP campaign of Raul Ruiz.

Ruiz got so many votes that the Democratic candidate lost to the Republican.

Another local politician who spoke responded to the demonstrators by saying, "As long as there are Kennedys and McGovern, I will be a Democrat." Another said, "Chicanos have traditionally been raised to show respect. You should not be demonstrating here."

Kennedy, red-faced and apparently surprised by the demonstration, permitted one of the demonstrators to speak. José Uribe, a member of CASA, speaking in Spanish to the pre-

dominately Chicano crowd, said: "All the people up here are *vendidos*. If they were really speaking to our community, they would have had other speakers. Where are our real leaders like Corky Gonzales, Raul Ruiz, and Bert Corona?"

"These people are just *politicos* looking for votes. They always come around giving promises. What have their promises brought us? All we have to do is look around at our community and see police brutality. They talk about us having respect. Where is the respect they have shown us?"

One of the issues raised by the demonstrators was the Kennedy-Rodino bill, which calls for the deportation of so-called illegal aliens from the U.S. Deportation is one of the most serious issues facing the Chicano community. Kennedy's cosponsorship of this bill is out of keeping with his image as a supposed friend of the Chicano community.

Questions about deportation to McGovern campaign workers whose main job is to get Chicanos to vote for the Democratic candidate brought

the response that McGovern has no position either in favor or against deportation. And the choice of Kennedy to address the first McGovern rally since the Democratic convention in the largest Chicano community in the U.S. could not be interpreted, the McGovern workers said, to mean that McGovern either agreed or disagreed with Kennedy's position on deportation. The McGovern workers themselves seemed quite uneasy with their own double-talk.

Despite statements by Kennedy that he has almost forgotten what it is like to be heckled, and that disagreements of this sort are normal for the Democratic Party, the reality of a strong left wing outside of and opposed to the Democratic Party in the Chicano community here underscored the independent position taken by the Sept. 1-4 national Raza Unida Party convention in El Paso, Texas.

This rally was a setback for the McGovern campaign in Southern California. The attendance of 1,500 was below their expectations. The assertion of Kennedy's undisputed popularity in the Chicano community was also severely impaired.

Ga. socialists debate Dem, win ballot case

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA, Sept. 12—Last night Keith Jones, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Georgia's 5th C.D., had his first public confrontation with his Democratic opponent, the Reverend Andrew Young, a former Southern Christian Leadership Conference leader. The scene was the monthly meeting of the Atlanta chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

Well over 100 women attended. Many were initially more sympathetic to Young, but they clearly preferred Jones's answers to questions about abortions and the Vietnam war. Asked if he supported total repeal of the Georgia abortion law, Young displeased his audience by saying that he would not favor legislation liberalizing the abortion law unless a "third

party" in addition to a woman and her doctor had some decision-making power.

Jones replied that "too many third parties, too many old men" are trying to make the fundamental decision to control her body that only a woman must be able to make. The women enthusiastically applauded.

Asked whether he will be marching against the war in Vietnam, Nov. 18, Young said he would instead be busy celebrating his electoral victory. Young said he supports McGovern's position on the war.

Jones responded that he would be marching Nov. 18 and castigated McGovern's position that he would leave residual forces in Southeast Asia until the prisoners of war are brought home as "essentially the same as Nixon's policy."

On another front, the Georgia Socialist Workers Party campaign scored an important victory today. U.S. senatorial candidate, Alice Conner, was certified for ballot status in the race to fill the remaining two months in the unexpired term of the late Richard Russell.

Because of a quirk in the Georgia ballot law, Georgians must vote twice for U.S. Senator this November—first to fill the unexpired term from November to inauguration day in January, and second for the new six-year Senate term.

Candidates who have not run in the Democratic and Republican primaries must get 98,000 signatures of registered voters to be on the ballot for the full six-year term. Last month, Conner and the Socialist Workers Party electors for Linda Jenness and An-

drew Pulley filed suit in federal court to eliminate the undemocratic 98,000-signature nominating petition requirement. No decision has been made on this suit so far.

For unexpired terms, however, no nominating petitions are required. On Aug. 7 Georgia Secretary of State Ben Fortson rejected Conner's notice of candidacy for the unexpired two-month term. At Conner's request, Georgia Attorney General Arthur Bolton last week issued a ruling saying Fortson must put her name on the ballot.

According to the Sept. 11 *Atlanta Journal*, "Fortson was obviously unhappy about Bolton's legal opinion." But Conner was pleased. "He had no right to keep us off the ballot, yet he attempted to do so," the *Journal* quoted Conner.